Journal of Mormon History

Volume 23 | Issue 2 Article 1

1997

Journal of Mormon History Vol. 23, No. 2, 1997

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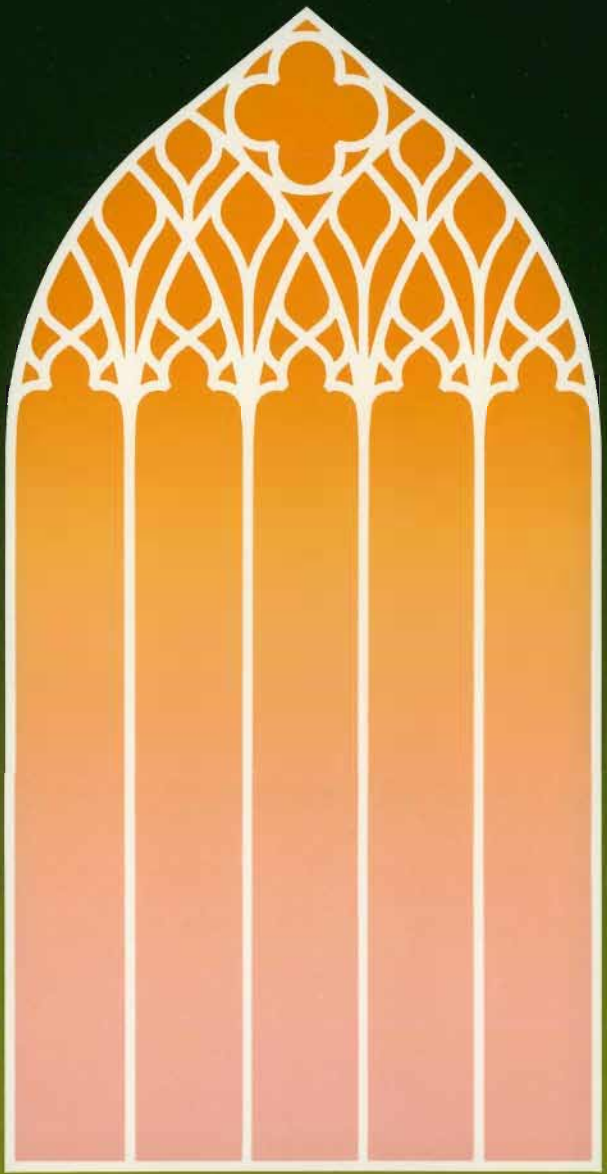

FALL 1997

The *Journal of Mormon History* is published semi-annually by the Mormon History Association, 2470 N. 1000 West, Layton, UT 84041 (801) 773-4620. It is distributed to members upon payment of annual dues: student, $12.50; regular, $15; sustaining, $20; Friend of Mormon History, $50; Mormon History Association Patron, $500 or more. Single copies $10.

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Papers for consideration must be submitted in triplicate, typed and double-spaced throughout, including all quotations. A preferred length is twenty pages, but longer manuscripts may considered. Authors should follow the *Chicago Manual of Style,* 14th edition (see a recent edition of the *Journal)* and be prepared to submit accepted manuscripts in IBM-DOS format, WordPerfect or ASCII. Send manuscripts to the *Journal of Mormon History,* P.O. Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

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COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life,* published by ABC-CLIO, and in *Religion Index One: Periodicals,* published by the American Theological Library Association.

ISS 0094-7342

LETTERS

BRUCE VAN ORDEN: Response to "Writing European History and Building the Church in Europe" by Wilfried Decoo

For many years I have eagerly sought means to promote more widespread social scientific and historical investigation of the internationalization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I sincerely feel that I have been open and honest about every issue pertaining to all aspects of the globalization of the LDS Church and its attempts to gain a foothold and to grow in all nations. At the same time I have explained to colleagues and students that I do not apologize for being employed by the Church and for my attempts to build the kingdom of God upon the earth.

Many readers of the *Journal of Mormon History* will remember that, in the early 1970s, a sixteen-volume history of the Church was planned to commemorate the Sesquicentennial in 1980. One of the proposed volumes dealt with the history of the Church in Europe. My *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996) is not and never has been that volume.

Wilfried Decoo's review essay about *Building Zion* (*Journal of Mormon History,* Spring 1997, pp. 140-76) also discussed numerous issues in writing European history. The editors of the *Journal* decided to give an unprecedented thirty-seven pages to this, the first review essay it has published. I'm pleased that my aim, and of course the aim of many others—that international Mormonism be investigated as devotedly in our historical circles as, say, Nauvoo or Missouri—is gradually coming to pass. But I'm saddened that my response was not published with his review in the *Journal of Mormon History.*[1]

I'm pleased that Decoo contributed his insights that aid our common understanding of the history of the LDS Church in Europe. Everybody gains when we carry on this scholarly debate, especially when we can all be brothers and sisters in the same work.

Decoo's essay took on my book with gusto. I recognize that when I entered the public arena in publishing this book that I should expect critical reviews. I want to go on record that it has

[1] *Editors' note:* We appreciate the author's regrets, which we share; but as a practical matter, the editing sequence that must be completed before a final version of a review would be ready for a response does not leave time. In the past, responses to reviews (or to other articles in the *Journal*) have been published as letters in the following issue, a policy we will continue to follow.

always been my belief and policy that critical reviews are healthy in Mormon history. Even though I received a negative review in this instance, I still believe this. We must surely recognize that all historical books and essays are but "preliminary reports." Historians of the Mormon movement will improve these reports when they are subjected to honest critiques.

I believe that Decoo was wrong by explaining what he thinks should be the scope of such a work as mine. He strongly criticized my sources and methods as well as many of my facts and interpretations. I will show that my sources and methods were determined by the scope and purpose of my book and that they have a legitimacy of their own. Decoo correctly pointed out a few errors in *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe,* but he was out of bounds in suggesting that my historical narrative was a gross misrepresentation. As for interpretation and analysis, I can defend my points of view as well as he can his own. Unfortunately, Decoo did not identify the many areas of common ground that he and I have with each other.

Decoo raised a number of historiographical and methodological issues that deserve vigorous debate and which will, I hope, continue a constructive discussion about the nature and purposes of Mormon history, especially international Mormonism.

Scope

First, what scope should a history have? *Building Zion* was not intended to go into depth on social scientific issues nor to cover thoroughly the rise and growth of Mormonism in every European nation. It was designed only as a one-volume popular survey. I thus believe that Decoo was unfair in stating, "These fascinating topics [a host of socio-economic factors involved in the conversion process such as socio-economic class, family dynamics, prospective emigration], which should have been at the core of the book, are painfully lacking" (144). He claimed that my text "was not a good book" because, among other things, it did not provide critical reflection on the study of international Mormon history and "on the persons and subjects it should treat" (176). It is, after all, the author's decision as to what subjects to treat and how to treat them. Decoo's ideas about subjects that "should" be treated are commendable, but they do not necessarily have a place in my book.

In considering how I could have more helpfully oriented the reader to the book's scope and purpose, however, I realize that I should have been more persistent with my editors in retaining an explanation, drafted for the original preface, about the limitations of the work. This draft also included an invitation for others to join in writing about European Mormon history and international history. I'm sorry now that I allowed my publisher to persuade me not to include both of these statements.

I had a strong sense of audience for *Building Zion* from its conceptualization. The professional educator in me (I have taught various forms of religious education for twenty-seven years)

stressed the advantages of providing summary reports in the majority of my writings. I normally address my essays to a general audience of students or moderately educated interested persons. Through these endeavors I have worked to be a bridge-builder between the historical community and the general Church public. I respect a general audience as much as a scholarly one. I do not think the general reader either deserves to be or can be fobbed off with quick and careless history or pious platitudes. Throughout my teaching and writing career, I have striven to tell the truth and to be accurate.

Furthermore, the popularly written history is a genre with a long and respectable history of its own and deserves to be accepted for what it is. Deseret Book officials have expressed their conviction that there is a need for this type of genre of history. It is a conviction that I heartily share. They want to publish historical works for the general LDS readership. Thus, early in our negotiations, they and I agreed that we would direct this book to a popular audience.

For years my European friends have complained loudly to me that they didn't have access to much Mormon history. A whole host of them again reported this desire in June 1997 during a visit to Europe. They indicated that my book helps fill a void, and they sincerely appreciated getting a chance to read it. Clearly, we also lacked a general text of all Mormon history in Europe for the large North American audience. Obviously, if I had proposed a narrowly focused European history or one that was not in English, the book publisher would have had serious marketing concerns. Likely such books, though desirable, would simply not have seen the light of day at this stage of Mormon publishing history.

The tasks in producing a survey popular history are different from those of writing an in-depth, narrowly focused scholarly history. A survey history has to begin with the assumption that the audience knows nothing except the broadest outlines of Church history, both internationally and locally. It has to point the reader to the major sources but not leave him or her to flounder unaided through long documentary quotations. Rather the author must create an outline of places, dates, and people, within which carefully selected events and personal vignettes represent both high points and typical experiences of the period. The author is also responsible for identifying meaning and providing consistent and coherent interpretation without falling prey to fashionable trends in historiography that will limit and rapidly date the foundational history.

My studies and teaching have taken me across the total spectrum of international LDS history, from Europe to Africa, from Latin America to Asia, from the Middle East to the Caribbean, from ethnic diversity in North America to the impact of religious pluralism upon Mormonism. I have found that thousands of students and other people are crying for one text or just a few volumes that will provide them with the structure that they crave. Thus I felt that, in choosing to address the needs

of a general audience of believers and scholars alike, I was performing a genuine professional service.

I have discovered that many people have produced local histories, LDS journalists have gathered inspiring stories, and the Church has detailed numerical growth, individual conversion experiences, and chronicles of initial missionary work in most areas. Why not pass along valuable information and inspiring accounts in a popular history and make it available to the hundreds of thousands who are not already aware of all these things? It was risky, though, to be breaking new ground in this venture.

It is not surprising to me that this enterprise of writing a popular European history engenders hosts of new questions about any given historical event or personage. Almost every reader would like to know much more than I reported about a single nation and the challenges faced in that country. Although such a situation involves built-in frustrations, I do not consider those frustrations to be necessarily undesirable. I especially welcome the efforts of interested scholars and lay persons to improve on my product in writing a general Mormon European history or a social scientific history of the Church of an individual country such as Germany, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Russia, and so on. And I heartily agree that Europeans should increasingly bear the responsibility of analyzing their own records and writing their own histories. Their perspective will be different than that of even a sympathetic outsider like myself. Meanwhile, as many people already know, I am a strong proponent of getting much more history translated into the most-used languages in Europe and elsewhere.

Sources and Methods

Two of Decoo's major points were that I had unwisely chosen my sources and that my methods were faulty. He criticized the lack of primary sources, the fact that all of the sources are written in English (143), the "lopsided focus on Americans" (144), "a lack of balance in the selection of the few members and events" illustrating each chapter (145), potential accuracy problems with articles in Church publications that "are sometimes superficially researched" and in which "the desire to glorify our people leads across the border of truth" (145), a lack of sophistication on the part of the authors of the student papers on which I drew, and a general "lack of sources" cited except for quotations (146).

Decoo correctly pointed out that my historiographical approach was essentially to use already published secondary sources or student papers. I have already pointed out the reasons, imposed by the genre, that make a survey approach necessary. It is also important to recognize the practical limitations of producing a history that covers 160 years and more than forty countries. My publisher wanted a volume of no more than 300 pages, and I was bound by my agreement to these conditions. I also felt my self-imposed constraints of not showing partiality to a particular region or country. In *Build-*

ing Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe, I consciously tried to be as concise, as intelligible, and as compelling as I could in producing a basic history for an audience of "believers" who probably had only vague and fragmentary information about European Mormonism. (Many European friends have indicated that they are pleased to get hold of this book in the 1997 pioneer sesquicentennial year in order to discover more about the pioneering efforts in the gospel in their respective countries.)

There were few models for a popular survey regional history in Mormonism. The first successful survey histories of the Church in the United States written by professionals were produced only twenty years ago—James B. Allen and Glen Leonard's *Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/Church Historical Department, 1976) and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton's *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). These well-respected authors both used secondary sources. The period of 1940 through 1975 had provided them an ever more impressive collection of mature secondary literature on Mormonism in America. Admittedly, for my needs, the quality and overall coverage of European LDS history in the secondary literature is still uneven in many respects.

In an excellent example of a scholarly regional history, BYU Professor R. Lanier Britsch wrote *Unto the Islands of the Sea* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984) about the LDS Church in Australia and the Pacific. Britsch began his book as part of the proposed sesquicentennial series, his sources were more primary than secondary, and his project took him a decade to complete. My editors and I wanted a book that would appeal more to the popular audience and be completed sooner than in several years.

As someone who works in both scholarly and popular history, I am perhaps also qualified to assert that research methodologies for both types of histories exist. In my career I have conducted primary research on European Mormon history, usually in Germany (since I speak German) and in Great Britain. I certainly have no difficulty—either personally or methodologically—in researching in primary sources and writing from them. For example, I recently published an article in a German-language periodical in which I used Church minutes, diaries, and correspondence all written in German ("Warum die Kirche in Deutschland der 20er Jahre erstaunliche Erfolge hatte," ["Why the Church in Germany in the 1920s Experienced Astounding Success,"] *Betrachtungen,* Winter 1996, Vierte Jahrgang, 25-28). In short, my choice of a methodology appropriate to a popular survey was not made because I am unpracticed at scholarly methods.

It is also because of the requirements of a popular history for a largely English-speaking audience that I purposely concentrated on distilling the scholarly work of others, citing them appropriately in the chapter endnotes and in the bibliography. For example, Professor Ronald D. Dennis of

Brigham Young University's Spanish and Portuguese Department has plumbed the depths of Church activity in Wales in the 1840s and 1850s. In two pages of text (48-50), I summarized four different publications of Dennis so that a wider range of readers could take advantage of this valuable information, all in the context of the greater history of the Mormon movement going on around it. The concerns about balance inevitably reflect limitations in the sources.

Another of Decoo's criticisms was that I used "nowhere in the book a source that was not written in English" when "92 percent of the [European] population speak other languages" (143). True, most of my sources were in English; however, many of them had derived considerable information from primary research in French, Danish, German, and so on. But then again, primary sources from approximately three dozen different European languages would not have served my cause in making *Building Zion* a survey review.

Decoo's criticism that I focused a bit overmuch on American Latter-day Saint participation in Europe has some validity. This is also the case, incidentally, in Britsch's *Unto the Islands of the Sea.* I aim to do better in the future on this score.

Decoo expressed considerable uneasiness about accuracy in sections where I used personal accounts (151-54). Rather than making the book a dry chronicle of dates, events, and places, both I and my editors wanted to provide warmth and personality to the work by adding personal narratives that were uplifting and faith promoting. Aware of potential problems with accuracy of both reporting and interpretation in secondary sources, I routinely checked these accounts with other credible sources and with known experts about a particular country, region, or historical period. If problems with inaccuracy remain, it is because of inadequacies in that vetting process, not because of intention or laziness.

Specifically, Decoo questioned: "To what extent can we trust the stories in Church publications, which Van Orden uses so abundantly, as objective historical sources?" (145) I appreciate this concern. But I have three answers why I was comfortable with the stories that I included: (1) I relied heavily in various parts of the book on stories researched by such respected historians and authors as William G. Hartley, James B. Allen, Douglas F. Tobler, Alan F. Keele, Richard L. Jensen, David J. Whittaker, Ronald K. Esplin, and Kahlile Mehr. Some of their writings were in the Church publications; some were not. (2) As an occasional contributor to the *Church News* and Church magazines, as a former Church Educational System curriculum writer, and from having served on LDS manual-writing committees, I learned that the Correlation Reading Committee frequently insisted that my colleagues and I double check the historical accuracy of our articles and lessons. (3) As already mentioned, I had experts in various European regions check my writings for veracity.

I acknowledge that even some of

the world's most famous journalists are sometimes wrong on some of their data and analysis. That could certainly apply to *Church News, Ensign,* and *New Era* writers as well. Occasionally, journalists' errors are pointed out by historians or by lawyers, but sometimes they never are. Clearly historians make their own errors in reporting events and interpreting their significance.

Another of Decoo's concerns was "stereotypes and generalizations" (151-54). Undoubtedly, a certain level of generalization is one of the built-in limitations of a popular survey history. However, my generalizations, I assert, are not necessarily inaccurate per se. Whatever the exceptions to the rule of the "French way of life meld[ing] high achievement and exquisite leisure," "Italian members talk[ing] and argu[ing] enthusiastically," and the Finns not "shar[ing] personal feelings with many people" (*Building,* 243, 250, 167; Decoo, 154), they only tend to support these generalizations. If a few Italian members in a given branch, for example, are less verbally expressive, this does not diminish the prominent national trait. My observations about specific peoples were never written in a divisive tone and are supported by other authors.

The following sentence from my book, discussing the astounding missionary success in Germany in the 1920s, received approval, when I presented this concept in oral presentations, from both American students of German history and German Latter-day Saints in Europe: "Many Germans, because of their national and cultural traits, were drawn to such Latter-day Saint doctrines and practices as devotion to the family, the role of women in the home, the idea of a chosen people and the house of Israel, the spiritual power of choir and congregational singing, the excitement of doing genealogical research to seek out ancestral roots, and the orderly nature of the Church's hierarchical and priesthood structure" (132).

Actually, in Decoo's discussion of stereotypes and generalizations, he was attacking the proclivity in Mormon popular literature as a whole to make generalizations that have negative effects in the end—that make Mormons look like overzealous cultists, that make members who have served faithfully but quietly feel that their contributions are not valued as much as those that are more "spectacular," etc. I don't believe that my generalizations, carefully expressed as rules of thumb, not as mere stereotypes, have unhealthy effects upon the European Saints or other readers of the book.

In *Pioneers in Every Land* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), D. Brent Smith, Everett Smith, Jr., and I have laid out in greater detail the struggles of men, women, and children as Mormon "pioneers" in many different countries and cultures. These accounts were often written by the participants themselves, particularly those drawn from the European experience. I hope that most of this book's readers will recognize our desire to look at the international Church in personal detail, rather than in generalities. Perhaps this book will also help meet Decoo's suggested crite-

ria that historians provide "examples of individual European Saints who have faithfully endured, especially when that endurance requires remaining active for decades in struggling branches torn apart by problems; providing local leadership in demanding positions with few resources; dealing with ostracism and mockery by relatives and former friends; surviving with healthy spirituality while enduring social and psychological distress" (152-53).

Interpretation

I sensed while reading Decoo's review his feeling of annoyance that I, an English-speaking American Latter-day Saint, would write a history about Europe. Not only I, but other readers who have read his biting review of my book, feel that he operated with a negative stereotype of American missionaries, American sentimentality, and American culture. Further Decoo spoke from the point of view of a European intellectual in recommending what I should do. He is among a growing number of LDS European intellectuals whom I know or know about who are weary of what they perceive as prolonged American influence in determining Church cultural norms. European intellectuals tend to be critical of American's pollyanna-like or self-promotional attitudes toward the real world. While I have a great deal of sympathy for Decoo's positions, his rather strident bias largely discredits his arguments, in my opinion. For example, Decoo indicated that the papers I cite, written by my BYU students "perhaps unconsciously, [told] an embellished story of conversion and of Mormon conformity without flaws" (146). Nothing could be further from the truth. I have always urged my students to be objective and to tell their experiences openly and honestly. This they do nearly all the time. Decoo also repeatedly hinted that as an American I hardly knew what life was really like in Europe. (See especially pp. 155-63.) He totally failed to recognize me as someone who is earnestly trying to help the cause of international/cultural diversity in Mormonism.

Decoo labeled some of my Chapter 3 as providing "dramatic background of the U.S. Church's various movements in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois." Decoo may not have been trying to identify a specific subspecies of the Church by saying "the U.S. Church," but given his negative approach to American contributions, I cannot be sure. In any event, I want to go on record as stating that we Latter-day Saints should not look at ourselves segmentally as a U.S. church, an African church, or a French church. In my opinion, the whole of Mormon history belongs to all of us in the kingdom of God regardless of where we live or to which ethnic, racial, and national group we belong. The events and persons involved in the Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and wilderness wanderings movements in America belong to the Saints in Belgium, Lithuania, Siberia, Thailand, Australia, and Kenya alike. The day should come when Decoo or others would write about Mormon history in Ohio, Missouri, or crossing the plains from a perspective that would al-

low the European Saints to enjoy it better and for American readers to derive fresh insights from these experiences.

Now to respond to some specific criticisms of *Building Zion.* Decoo's review leaves the impression that I was trying to shape a pattern of "constant triumphalism" and of "continual and glorious" progress for the Church in Europe (163). This certainly was not my intention. In fact, I do not believe it. As I wrote: "The progress of the Church in western and southern Europe has been more difficult than in other areas of the world" (260). Elsewhere I have taught and written that, taken as a whole, the growth of the Church in Europe is weaker than any most other world regions. ("Europe: From First to Last, But Still 'Mighty Important,'" *Mormon Heritage Magazine* I [March-April 1995]: 23-26, and 2 [May-June 1995]: 16-19). I am not Euro-centric in my teaching and writing, and neither do I have an anti-Europe bias.

Decoo analyzed three and a half pages of my text based on his expertise in early French Mormon history and contemporary Belgian history and found "eighteen errors." He concluded, "If such a rate could be extrapolated to the book as a whole, it would contain about 1,500 errors and inaccuracies" (146-51). Decoo's charge is overplayed and unfair.

Many of his "corrections" of my "errors" are really extensive clarifications, adding considerably more information than I had in my necessarily brief account. Decoo's discussion, for instance, about Walloon/Fleming relationships in his native Belgium (150-52) is, in my view, a clarification of my point. My briefer comments on the Walloons and the Flemings were not as incorrect as he claimed. It is true that I considered that there was a "divisive rivalry" between the Walloons and Flemings and that Decoo characterizes the relationships between the two groups as representing the "best of feelings and mutual understanding" (149-50). Here we have a difference of opinion and interpretation. My observations and contacts with Belgian Saints and the Belgian people as well as studying European history and sociological texts led me to my conclusion. Decoo, a Belgian himself, has drawn his own conclusion. My opinion at this point is that both of us were too general in our evaluations.

What Decoo appears to be doing is using the book review as a chance to write at length about items that interest him a great deal. I had to allocate my space to other priorities in my book. I applaud him for his exhaustive thoroughness, but I was saddened that he made me look amateurish in my methodology and incredibly faulty in my interpretations. His approach of degrading my scholarship was unprofessional and unscholarly.

After reading Decoo's critique of the early historical sections about the beginnings of Mormonism in France in 1851-52, I recognize that I made some factual errors. This is particularly the case when I incorrectly stated that Elder Curtis Bolton had been imprisoned in France and that President Louis Napoleon had forbidden Mormon meetings (60-61). I will do my

homework more carefully in the future.

Decoo would have the readers believe, however, that all my errors were major faux pas. Some of his "corrections," I maintain, are differences of interpretation more than inexcusable errors in fact. An example is that I misrepresented the significance of Louis Bertrand's apologist writings in early Mormon history in France. Decoo would have *Journal* readers believe that Bertrand's writings were widely distributed. I don't feel that this is what I was saying. I recommend that Decoo use his linguistic ability and primary sources to write a history of the Church in French-speaking Europe. But for him to assert that my weaknesses in France and French-speaking Europe (where already published materials are scarce) is a reflection on the whole book, its factual veracity, and its interpretation is unseemly. He didn't acknowledge that I had done anything right both in factual reporting or in interpretation factually or by interpretation in the entire book. Other experts in other portions of European LDS history have judged the parts they have read as accurate. Furthermore, I have primary source expertise in many subjects of the book. I invite readers to read my original, read Decoo's critique, and then form their own conclusions.

A related question is the accuracy of the book's thesis per se. Decoo sees my work promoting "constant triumphalism" for the Church in Europe (164). Of course, I wanted to display the Lord's hand in the latter-day work in Europe beginning with the first apostolic mission to Britain and extending to the present day. So, yes, I did portray some triumphalism, but not at the expense of realism nor of actually reporting factual history. For example, I feel that I demonstrated the negative factors that inhibited either the opening of missionary work or the building up of the Church in many locales over so many decades.

Many portions of the book had nothing to do with triumphalism. My main themes actually were: The Church began with considerable gusto in Britain from 1837 through 1870. The opening of Scandinavia and the European Continent were fraught with enormous difficulties. Only Denmark had what one would consider much success on the Continent through 1870, and that with considerable opposition. The policy of the Church was to "gather to Zion" throughout the nineteenth century; thus the Church never took root in any European country during that century. The Church in Europe struggled along, but with some high points, from 1870 to 1950. Building Zion in Europe first took place after President David O. McKay became the prophet. In many ways the Church has matured in western Europe in the modern era. The opening of the Church in central and eastern Europe has been accompanied by miracles but has also been fraught with many pioneering difficulties. I invite everybody to read my book with an eye to its facts and analysis, not merely its faith-promoting tone.

Certainly one reason Deseret Book

agreed to the European survey history as a first volume in the projected series was because of its reader appeal and the fact that a high percentage of the book company's customers have European ancestors. Do these readers see their ancestors as a chosen few, fleeing a permanently barren field, or do they see their ancestral homelands as part of the great prophecies that the gospel will fill the earth and that temples will dot the globe? I think the latter. Consequently, I believe that Decoo and I may simply see the issue of triumphalism from different and contradictory perspectives.

On one level, the numbers of new converts that I cited in the book are not very important at all. "Remember the worth of souls is great in the sight of God" (D&C 18:10). If only five thousand Central and Eastern Europeans are ever baptized, I would still consider it a triumph, a reason to praise God. And on another level, the record of the past, even including relatively flat baptismal statistics, does not necessarily predict the future. President Hinckley, as his many recent media interviews make clear, is very aware of the "numbers" and adroitly works the impressive statistics of Churchwide growth into these discussions. Throughout his lengthy apostolic ministry, he has encouraged optimism rather than "pickle-sucking" about the work of the Lord. As president of the Church, he has declared:

> How glorious is the past of this great cause. It is filled with heroism, courage, boldness, and faith. How wondrous is the present as we move forward to bless the lives of people wherever they will hearken to the message of the servants of the Lord. How magnificent will be the future as the Almighty rolls on His glorious work touching for good all who will accept and live His gospel. . . . I invite every one of you, wherever you may be as members of this Church, to stand on your feet and with a song in your heart move forward, living the gospel, loving the Lord, and building the kingdom.[2]

Thus, when I have spoken "triumphantly" about the Church and its rise in Europe, I am not ignoring the realities but am expressing in my own way, scholarly and saintly at the same time, I hope, my prayerful wish for mutual improvement. It is also my attempt to help build the kingdom.

Decoo also makes an extensive critique of my chapter on missionary work in the in the former Soviet Union, the former Soviet bloc, and the former Yugoslavia (154-58) I certainly do not think that everything is progressing smoothly there, and I am amazed that Decoo claims, "Van Orden devotes not one word to the deeper feelings and the complex challenges of those millions undergoing massive changes" (156). As just two examples, I point out, "Russia certainly lacked the political stability many citizens longed for, crime became rampant, and many un-

[2]"Stay the Course–Keep the Faith," *Ensign,* November 1995, 72.

scrupulous foreigners and the so-called Russian Mafia plundered the country's economic resources" (271) and "Early euphoria [in all of Central and Eastern Europe after the 1989 revolutions] was replaced by widespread disillusionment, skepticism, and, in some cases, considerable bloodshed" (307).

A more serious charge is Decoo's declaration: "For me, the lowest point of the book was Van Orden's description of racial and cultural intolerance within the Church" (159). He reacted negatively and defensively to this charge, and his objections are worth reading carefully. Still, I believe that the impartial reader of *Building Zion* will agree that I praised the integrity of European LDS members more than I chastised them for failures or problems—including racism. I agree with Decoo that hosts of European leaders and lay members dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to integrating *allochtones* into their congregations. I will even grant that in Belgium and the Netherlands, the areas of Europe Decoo knows best, incidents of racial discrimination are relatively few. And I suspect that he agrees with me that even one indication of racial intolerance is one too many for Saints seeking a Zion society, which was my main point in the final chapter. I hasten to add that challenges with racism exist all over the Church, most assuredly in the United States and Canada. By the admission of many faithful Saints in Asia, Church members in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia struggle to identify with one another because of centuries-long enmity built up among their ethnic groups. Racism in Europe is not unique or even particularly virulent.

The problem may be one of the data base from which we drew our conclusions. I hold to my original assertion that many Saints in Europe struggle with intolerance and milder forms of racism. In my recent European visit (summer 1997), again I found additional examples of difficult adjustment for foreign members among their indigenous brothers and sisters. When I interviewed local ward, branch, and stake leaders, both men and women, these individuals acknowledged that they are repeatedly challenged by confronting people of other races. They admit that they and the Church in general are far from successful in coping with different races among the believers in their congregations. In Decoo-like manner I can also state: "In all my many years of teaching returned missionaries who served in Europe and BYU international students from Europe, I have not found a single person who hasn't willingly described instances of racial intolerance, sometimes of a very serious nature, from their experience in Mormon congregations."

I am not relying alone on my own mission experiences or those of my two oldest children who served missions in Europe, or those of other missionaries, which seems to concern Decoo (161). In my various travels to Europe, I have worshipped and become acquainted with Latter-day Saints in approximately thirty-five congregations. I know members from dozens of additional locales.

I have witnessed first-hand the shunning of Bosnian refugees because members felt "that all Muslims are dangerous." I have seen good members avoid Turkish, Vietnamese, and African investigators even when there was not the slightest indication that they were criminals or incapable of providing for their own needs.

Yet I have also seen beautiful examples of reaching out to new members of other racial backgrounds in various congregations. It thrilled me, for example, to see French members in Versailles show love to new converts from the French Caribbean and long-time members in London's Hyde Park Ward hug Indian converts from Hinduism. I do not wish to sound defensive. I reiterate that I am not attacking my European brothers and sisters here but rather am identifying a challenge that faces all of us prior to the second coming of the Master.

Conclusion

When all is said and done, I believe that Wilfried Decoo and Bruce Van Orden are allies in the same work. I enthusiastically endorse Decoo's constructive suggestions for improving missionary work. In my teaching and in privately distributed handouts, I have suggested similar strategies myself.

Since becoming the prophet, President Gordon B. Hinckley has gone about the world urging the Saints to be grateful to the Church which has served them as "a generous mother," a phrase he used when he addressed our congregation in Jerusalem in June 1996. My literal mother and I have a good relationship. But she, who was twenty-three when I was born, knows me now as a middle-aged man with several faults and foibles. I am acquainted with her weaknesses as well. Yet in our love for each other we often choose to accentuate the positive aspects of our relationship and hopes for eternal togetherness. It was in this same attitude of recognizing challenges, but having a positive attitude about the triumph of truth and the restored Church, that I wrote *Building Zion: The Latter-day Saints in Europe.*

Now to my fellow historians of Mormonism: Please get involved even more than you have in the past in assessing the globalization of the movement. I have contributed to a start with Europe. Now, would others please join in the fun? There will always be diversity in the way people work. We all have a great deal to learn from each other.

Bruce A. Van Orden
Springville, Utah

Wilfried Decoo's response will be published in the Spring 1998 issue. Ordinarily, the *Journal's* policy with letters is to invite responses for the same issue, if time permits. Because Bruce Van Orden was returning from teaching at the Semester Abroad program at BYU's Jerusalem Center and was traveling in Europe in June, there was not sufficient time before the typesetter's deadline to accommodate this more desirable arrangement.

TODD COMPTON: Response to Janet Ellingson

My article, "Fanny Alger Smith Custer: Mormonism's First Plural Wife?" (Spring 1996), was not meant to be "certain" or definitive, so I welcome Janet Ellingson's further discussion on this topic.

Her letter proposes an interpretation that is possible and should be pursued—the idea that either Mosiah or his father Levi concocted the story of Levi marrying Joseph Smith and Fanny Alger. I will even suggest some phenomena that might lead to such a fabrication: beginning in 1863, RLDS missionaries (including Joseph Smith III himself) came to Utah and claimed that Joseph Smith, Jr., had not been a polygamist, so one would not be surprised to find Mormons "heightening" the truth in order to refute the RLDS. One might theorize that Levi Hancock told his son that Smith had had a relationship with Mosiah's cousin, Fanny, and that Mosiah, in telling the story, "improved" it to an actual marriage with ceremony. (Or Levi "heightened" it.)

Furthermore, another phenomenon common in Mormon reminiscences and family history, self-heroization or heroization of family members, would cause Mormons to associate themselves (or their relatives) with Joseph Smith. Davis Bitton's fine article, "Joseph Smith in Mormon Folk Memory," *Restoration Studies* 1 (Independence, Mo.: Temple School, 1980), 75-94, documents the accretion of legend in "folk" narratives of Joseph Smith.

Nevertheless, I personally have accepted that the Hancock narratives concerning Fanny Alger reflect historical events in their main outlines. I agree that late, second-hand reminiscences are not perfect evidence, but no evidence is perfect. (See my article's critique of even "contemporary" evidence.) One important area in which I think Ellingson and I see things differently is this: I feel that it is common to find mistakes and dislocations, even supernatural elaborations, in Mormon autobiography but rare to find extended examples of total concoction. And the whole story of the "woman-exchange" in the Hancock/Fanny Alger narrative turns upon an actual marriage. Otherwise, one doubts that Fanny's parents would have agreed to the relationship. Certainly, it was less risky for Joseph Smith to propose a marriage than an affair.

Mosiah might have gotten the floors of the Kirtland Temple mixed up—especially since he left Kirtland in August 1836 when he was two years and four months old and probably had no first-hand memories of the temple, completed in March 1836; it is less likely that he made up the story from scratch. And it is common for even educated writers to get details mixed up in autobiography. Rudyard Kipling, a very sophisticated writer, wrote an autobiography, *Something of Myself,* that is notorious for its factual errors, but no Kipling biographer would ignore it. Mosiah was an extremely unsophisticated writer.

By the way, neither Mosiah, nor I, said that Fanny was pregnant at the

time of the Kirtland Temple story. By my extremely tentative chronology, there is a slight window of possibility that she was, but there is a big window of probability that she wasn't.

Another important point where Ellingson and I vary: she takes Fanny Alger's marriage to Solomon Custer as absolute proof that Alger had not married Joseph Smith. I see the pattern of marriage, the marriage not working out, then remarriage, as entirely possible, a pattern common both in our times and in early nineteenth-century America.

Ellingson seems to think that I do not believe the Alger-Custer marriage important; I consider it very important, but I view it as a reflection on the quality of the Smith-Alger marriage rather than as absolute proof that Alger and Smith did not marry. Even though the evidence is severely fragmentary, in my reconstruction of the marriage, Joseph Smith did not give Fanny Alger adequate emotional and practical support, a common phenomenon in the history of polygamy.

A couple of other details. When I wrote the article, I had not checked Ann Eliza Webb's birthdate, but obviously, she is depending on her parents' account of the Fanny Alger relationship. Considering the scarcity of evidence on Alger, it would be foolish not to consider Ann Eliza. The story of the pregnancy came from Chauncey Webb, not from Ann Eliza.

As for Warren Parrish not mentioning Fanny Alger's pregnancy (and I nowhere state that this pregnancy is certain), pregnancies can get hushed up, sometimes fairly successfully. If there was a miscarriage or if the child died as an infant, it could have been hushed up even more successfully. Fanny moved out of Kirtland, back to Mayfield, which would help conceal a pregnancy even more. In addition, though Parrish knew something about Kirtland polygamy, he wasn't in the inner polygamous circle, so he didn't know everything. People not in the inner polygamy circles would have had a very limited understanding of the practice. Levi and Mosiah Hancock, by the way, were very much in the "Fanny Alger" circle, as they were close relatives. For that reason alone, their writing on Alger deserves serious consideration.

As for the national press ignoring Mormon polygamy, in my paper I showed irrefutable evidence that Mormons were beginning to be accused of polygamy before Nauvoo, as early as August 1835. The Article on Marriage, which was included in a book of scripture, uses the word "polygamy." I doubt that Mormons would have simply made up that accusation.

Ellingson finds it unbelievable that Levi Hancock would consent to perform a marriage without civil authority. Personally, I find it very believable—both that Smith would place his religious authority above civil authority and that one of Smith's disciples would give him unquestioning obedience.

Ellingson writes, "Compton seems willing to call this a 'marriage.'" For the purpose of my work, I define as marriage any relationship in which there was a marriage ceremony. Other definitions of marriage are certainly possi-

ble. For instance, Joseph Smith III took as his definition of "real" marriage a public acknowledgement of the wife and cohabitation. By this definition, none of Joseph Smith's secret marriages were marriages.

Did Joseph Smith and Fanny Alger have a relationship solemnized by a marriage ceremony? Historians, writing from "conservative" or "liberal" viewpoints, have answered that question in different ways in the past and will continue to do so in the future. As in much Mormon history, there is a maze of seemingly contradictory evidence. Hopefully, more documentary evidence will be found to further illuminate the story.

Todd Compton
Santa Monica, Calif.

RICHARD VAN WAGONER : Response to David Whittaker

It was no surprise to me that David Whittaker, a respected archivist employed by Brigham Young University, would find fault in his book review (Spring 1997) with certain interpretative positions I take in my Sidney Rigdon biography. Historically, it has been the hallmark of human institutions to kill the messenger bearing bad or uncomplimentary news. In religious institutions such as Mormonism, the pattern is to discredit the message by trivializing it through in-house critics or to ignore its undeniable truths. Numerous recent messengers of historically more accurate "bad news" have found their major issues not addressed by the Church. Worse still, the messenger can be attacked directly or discounted just enough to ensure that the majority of Mormons will still be reading or promoting historical fantasy.

I don't want to address all of David's criticisms in this letter. However, in defense of my Rigdon book, which was edited to 50 percent of its original length, I will say that the work won the Best Book Award from the John Whitmer Historical Society and the Best Biography Award from the Mormon History Association. I stand firm on my different observations and interpretations of early Mormon history.

While I don't merely shrug off opposing arguments such as Whittaker's, I long ago recognized the improbability of convincing most Mormons that a considerable portion of our history has been smoothed over and tidied up by well-meaning though misguided minders of the faith. As I stated in the *Sidney Rigdon* introduction: "I do not apologize for exposing the warts and double chins of religious leaders. Fallible men and women are all God has on earth. Perhaps through the observations and interpretations I attempt here, others will feel more at ease with their own wrinkles."

I do not believe Whittaker is being either fair or accurate in saying that I "rely too heavily on the more negative material" and have written a "history by innuendo." Although David Whitmer, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, Ezra Booth, John C. Bennett, and Sidney Rigdon either left the Church or were driven from it, they should not be denied their voice simply because they

lost faith in Joseph Smith or because their first-hand accounts differ from our sanitized retrospective views. I have invested more than two decades of my life studying primary Mormon documents—the bedrock of our faith. My assessment, which has caused me considerable disappointment and sadness over the years, is that the accounts of these so-called "apostates" are often more truthful than the testimony-promoting accounts left by many early Churchmen who were committed to supporting the Church, right *or* wrong. While I understand, I do not respect nor accept their reasons for producing such sleight-of-hand history.

For example, who was telling the truth about the controversial Nancy Rigdon incident? Can Joseph Smith and Willard Richards be believed? Are the "negative" accounts of relatives Sidney and Wickcliffe Rigdon and George W. Robinson lies? I think not. A close reading of my "Between Family and Friends" chapter provides ample evidence that Rigdon family members' accountings are solid, "positive" defenses of a young woman wronged by a group of men who circled the wagons to protect their besieged leader. Whether treatments of a historical incident are positive or negative depends entirely on the perspective of the reader. I think Nancy Rigdon Ellis would applaud my positive defense of her honor.

A major problem for those of us who group in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is that we have nearly turned the organization into a Joseph Smith cult. We too easily put our faith in the arm of flesh. For example, I note that although Joseph Smith, in a 15 August 1841 letter to Horace R. Hotchkiss, called lower Nauvoo a "deathly sickly hole," he was so financially desperate that he continued to promote real estate sales in the mosquito-infested Mississippi bottom lands. As late as 13 April 1843, while addressing a company of newly arrived English Saints, he knew otherwise when he announced, "In the upper part of the town are the merchants, who will say that I am partial . . . but the lower part of the town is much the most healthful; and I tell it [to] you in the name of the Lord" (p. 286).

I view this Rigdon biography as a very positive work in the sense that I tried to dedicate it to truth and credibility. I made no attempt to round off the corners. If the book is remembered for anything at all, I hope that over time it will be as a clear warning to future religionists of the grave danger of putting their lives or the lives of family members into the hands of charismatic men such as Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith rather than in the sheltering arms of God himself. Speaking as spectral voices from the past, these men—and more recently men like James Jones, David Koresh, and Marshall Herff Applewhite—practically shout to us that we must ultimately think for ourselves, rather than surrender decision-making to others, especially to those who claim the authority to tell us who we must be and what God would have us do.

Richard S. Van Wagoner
Lehi, Utah

The Modern Church Historian: In Affectionate Tribute to Leonard J. Arrington, 1997

Original lyrics by Jill Mulvay (Derr) for an appreciation dinner, LDS Church Historical Department, 6 May 1977; resurrected and modified for Leonard's retirement dinner as director of the Redd Center at Brigham Young University, 23 April 1997, by Jill Mulvay Derr and Paul L. Anderson.

Solo:
I am the very model of a modern Church Historian,
In matters economical, doctrinal, and folklorian.
I know the Mormon leaders, and I write their prosopography
With research that enlarges and illumines their biography.

I've studied men and women both quixotic and mercurial,
I tend to favor those like me, somewhat entrepreneurial.
I've drawn my own conclusions about Brigham Young's maturity
And analyzed investments of the Eccles's First Security.

Chorus:
He's analyzed investments of the Eccles's First Security.
He's analyzed investments of the Eccles's First Security.
He's analyzed investments of the Eccles's First Securi-curity.

Solo:
I've also dabbled quite a little bit in social history,
The arts and letters of the Saints provide a lot of grist for me.
Since I can chant "Come, Come Ye Saints" just like a true Gregorian,
I am the very model of a modern Church Historian.

Chorus:
Since he can chant "Come, Come Ye Saints" just like a true Gregorian,
He is the very model of a modern Church Historian.

Solo:
I'm very good at research and I know historiography
As well as hermeneutics and statistical demography.
I know the folklore: the Three Nephites, and Jim Bridger's ears of corn,
The so-called White Horse Prophecy and Porter Rockwell's locks unshorn.

I'm awfully well acquainted too with matters economical.
In this Great Basin Kingdom throughout all its chronological
Development, I understand its finances and enterprise.
I've counted ev'rything in sight from Sunday eggs to railroad ties.

Chorus:
He's counted ev'rything in sight from Sunday eggs to railroad ties. (etc.)

Solo:
I'm very well acquainted too with issues in theology,
I understand statistics, mystics, and phenomenology.
Since I can Bible-bash with any Institute scriptorian,
I am the very model of a modern Church Historian.

Chorus:
Since he can Bible-bash with any Institute scriptorian,
He is the very model of a modern Church Historian.

Solo:

In fact, when I can write a book devoid of all tendentiousness,
Accept awards and accolades without the least pretentiousness,
When I have learned the ins and outs of writing up a grant request,
When I explain with utmost tact polygamy post-Manifest,

When I can smell a controversy brewing and put up my guards,
When I can spot a phony Salamander at a hundred yards,
When I am granted access to the archives of the DUP,
Then I'll deserve a pardon and an honorary Ph.D.

Chorus:

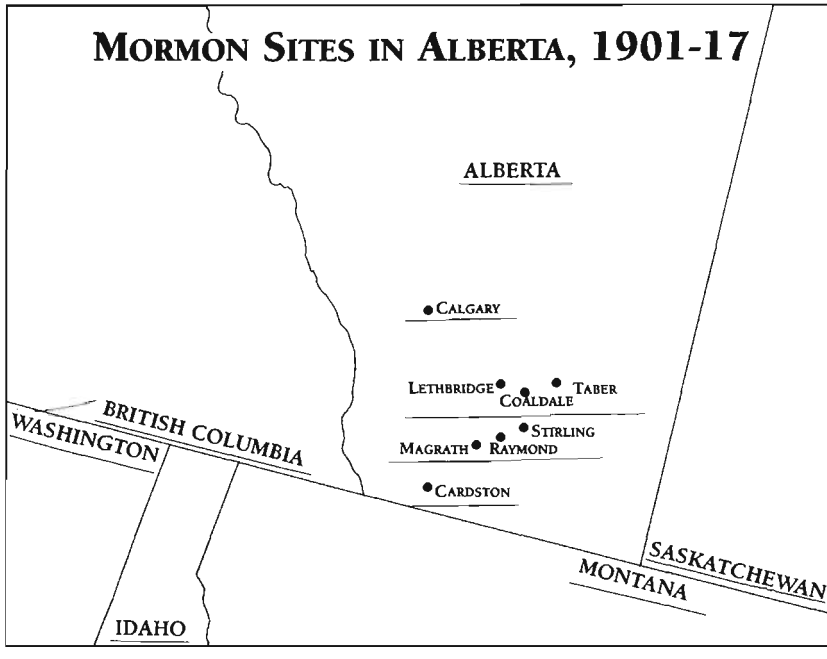
Then I'll deserve a pardon and an honorary Ph.D. (etc.)

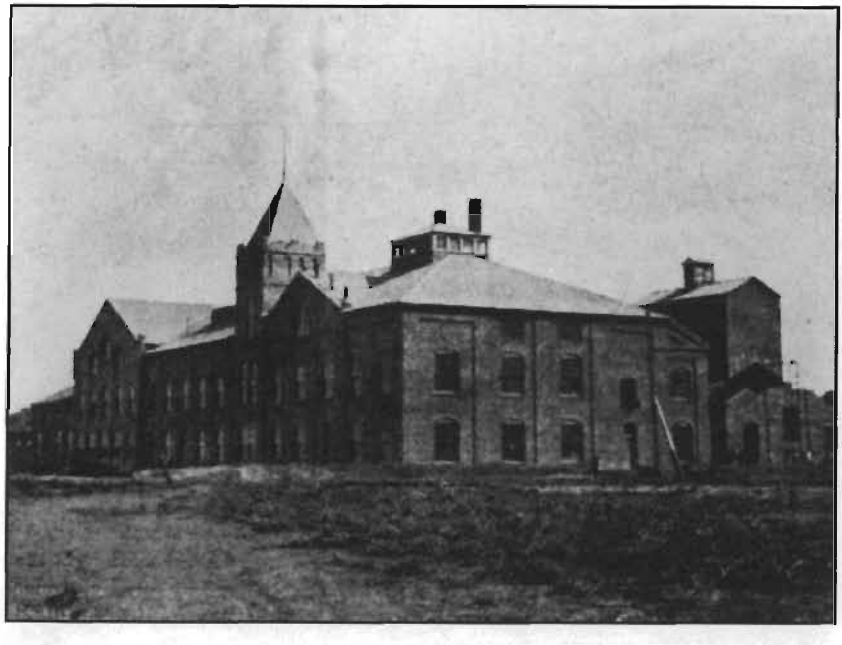
Solo:

When I learn that I need more than a scholar's normal bags of tricks,
Especially a healthy grasp of bureaucratic politics,
In matters economical, political, folklorian,
I'll be the very model of a modern Church Historian.

Chorus:

In matters economical, political, folklorian,
He'll be the very model of a modern Church Historian.





The Knight Sugar Factory, Raymond, Alberta, nearing completion, 1903. Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

Mormon Sugar in Alberta: E. P. Ellison and the Knight Sugar Factory, 1901-17

William G. Hartley

ALMOST EVERY FALL FOR A dozen years, the three-story brick factory of chugging conveyor belts, whirling steel blades, syrupy vats, and puffing white steam sucked in brownish sugar beets and spewed out fine, white sugar. For a half-generation of the citizens of Raymond, Alberta, the Knight Sugar Factory was a main character in the crucial opening act of their history. In addition to producing sugar, in a very real sense the factory also produced the town, as this retrospective eulogy memorializes:

> These Mormon men from Utah state
> Had little hope for wheat
> But if there was a factory near,
> They'd raise the sugar beet.

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY is an associate professor of history at Brigham Young University and a research historian at its Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History. He teaches a course in writing family biographies at BYU. He researched the information for this article in the process of writing *To Build, To Create, To Produce: Ephraim P. Ellison's Life and Enterprises, 1850-1939* (Salt Lake City: Ellison Family Organization, 1997).

The Knights responded to their need,
A factory soon was born!
An Industry for Canada!
A Sugar Company formed!
With irrigation, thrift, and faith
The town of Raymond grew
We thank these early pioneers
Who made our dreams come true![1]

Until the early twentieth century, LDS-promoted enterprises were not incidental to the mission of the Church; rather, they were like arteries that pumped life into people, towns, and regions. Leonard Arrington brilliantly demonstrated in his *Great Basin Kingdom* that efforts to develop sugar, cotton, lead, iron, and other basic industries were key components of LDS history, vital areas of study for historians of Mormonism. Sugar impacted LDS history by energizing Mormon community life. Not only during the pioneer period but also in the late nineteenth century, Church-backed sugar manufacturing benefitted Saints in northern Utah and beyond.

Similarly, in Raymond, Alberta, between 1901 and 1917, the planning, building, operating, and then dismantling of the Knight Sugar Factory performed a historically vital role for individuals, community, and Church. Although the Church had quit funding such projects by then, a prophet, Joseph F. Smith, pushed the project. Jesse Knight, a wealthy LDS capitalist, funded it because of his religious commitment. And Ephraim P. Ellison, a northern Utah businessman, supervised its construction, business operations, and management. Histories of Raymond and of Mormonism in Canada pay tribute to but do not provide histories of the Knight Sugar Company and its Raymond factory.[2] Drawing from sources not

[1]George and Grace Snow, "Raymond—Birth and Growth," poem in J. Orvin Hicken, comp. and ed, *"Roundup": Raymond 1901-1967* (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald Co. Ltd., 1967), 16.

[2]"A Brief History of the Early Days of Raymond, 1901-1905," typescript, LDS Church Archives; Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis, eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990); John R. Hicken, "Events Leading to the Settlements of the Communities of Cardston, Magrath, Stirling, and Raymond, Alberta" (M.A.

scoured before,[3] this account offers a more complete examination of how LDS beliefs and officials generated the Raymond sugar venture and how they influenced its operations, what its annual operations and challenges were, the major roles played by vice-president/manager Ephraim P. Ellison and his family, the impact of the business on town, Church, and Saints, and why and how the factory was closed and dismantled. Peppering this economic history are several new details about everyday life during those years in Canada, Utah, and the route between.

When the twentieth century began, historian Thomas Alexander explains, the LDS Church's tradition of cooperative venturing was merging with and giving way to the "waxing" of American capitalist individualism. That is, Church leaders continued to be very concerned about economic development in Mormon country; but rather than "cooperative ownership," Church leaders "allowed, and in many cases even encouraged, the transformation of cooperative and colonization programs from ecclesiastical to private ventures." Such was the case with the daring sugar manufacturing venture in Raymond.[4]

JESSE KNIGHT AND E. P. ELLISON

LDS President Lorenzo Snow opened the twentieth century by issuing a greeting to the world that dealt with economics. He gave

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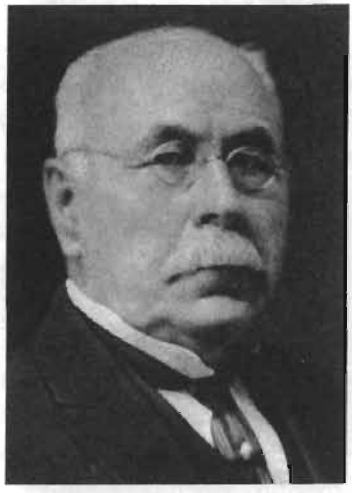
thesis, Utah State University, 1968); Hicken, *"Roundup"*; "History of Raymond First Ward 1901-1967," typescript, microfilm, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta* (Edmonton, Alberta: Hurtig Publishers, 1981); Charles A. Magrath, *The Galts and How Alberta Grew Up* (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald Printing, 1936); and Melvin S. Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada* (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald Co., 1968).

[3]In addition to the well-known J. William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family: Jesse Knight, His Forebears and Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), I have used three commonly overlooked sources: Knight Sugar Company records at the Glenbow Foundation Library in Calgary, the Knight Investment Company papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, and annual daybooks and other records of Ephraim P. Ellison and his family now in his grandchildren's hands in Layton, Utah.

[4]Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 180, 189, 210.



Jesse Knight

E. P. Ellison

counsel to working people and then issued this admonition to the wealthy:

> Men and women of wealth, use your riches to give employment to the laborer! Take the idle from the crowded centres of population and place them on the untilled areas that await the hand of industry. Unlock your vaults, unloose your purses, and embark in enterprises that will give work to the unemployed, and relieve the wretchedness that leads to the vice and crime which curse your great cities, and that poison the moral atmosphere around you. Make others happy, and you will be happy yourselves.[5]

Obviously, President Snow hoped several leading LDS businessmen would respond. Provo mining magnate and investor Jesse Knight and Layton businessman E. P. Ellison heard his admonition with believing hearts, for they had already committed their careers to those purposes.

Knight, born in 1845 in Nauvoo, Illinois, became wealthy from

[5]President Lorenzo Snow, "Greeting to the World," January 1, 1901, James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 3:334.

Utah mining ventures and made his home in Provo, Utah. His spiritual experiences caused him to use his wealth to bless the Church and the Latter-day Saints. He gave financial help to the Church, LDS authorities, Brigham Young Academy, and many enterprises. Knight Investment Company, a holding company he formed in 1906, in time brought eighty corporations within its scope. Jesse shared the responsibility for these enterprises with various family members, especially his two sons, Oscar Raymond and Jesse William.[6]

E. P. Ellison (he always used his initials), was born of LDS convert parents in 1850 in St. Louis and became a directing force in several business ventures benefitting the Layton, Utah, area, where he lived. He was a founder and key officer in the Layton Farmers Union general store, Davis and Weber Counties Canal Company, and Layton Milling and Elevator.[7] He served on the North Davis Stake high council and later in the stake presidency. In time he helped found and direct the First National Bank of Layton, the vast Ellison Ranching Company in Nevada, and the Layton Sugar Company. He was a director for many other businesses and gave his adult children responsibilities in these companies.

E. P. took advantage of the demand for sugar beets created when, with LDS Church backing, an experimental sugar factory was built at Lehi, Utah, that, in the early 1890s, manufactured sugar from beets.[8] In August 1893, E. P. raised five acres of beets for the Lehi plant on his Davis County land. He showed a local newspaper reporter a beet weighing two pounds and twelve ounces, causing the *Davis County Clipper* to proclaim, "If this industry can be started here,

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[6]See Hicken, *"Roundup,"* for life sketches of Jesse Knight, the "founder of Raymond" (30-33), Ray Knight (33-36), and Will Knight (37). See also Richard H. Peterson, "Jesse Knight, Utah's Mormon Mining Mogul," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Summer 1989), 240-253; Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family.* Three buildings at BYU are named to commemorate his and his family's generosity to the school.

[7]William G. Hartley, *To Build, To Create, To Produce: Ephraim P. Ellison's Life and Enterprises, 1850-1939* (Salt Lake City: Ellison Family Organization, 1997).

[8]Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Pioneer Beet Sugar Plant: The Lehi Factory of the Utah Sugar Company," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Spring 1966): 95-120.

it will pay better than raising wheat at 50 cents per bushel."[9] In 1897, he became a director, with President George Q. Cannon, of David Eccles's new Ogden Sugar Company. In 1902, when Eccles formed the Amalgamated Sugar company with three sugar factories, E. P. served on its board.[10] For the rest of his life, E. P. felt that manufacturing sugar from beets was a worthwhile business venture.

CANADIAN SUGAR FACTORY DECISION

In response to President Snow's call to provide jobs, Jesse Knight continued to promote enterprises from which he hoped but did not expect to profit, including investments in southern Alberta. Latter-day Saint families founded several settlements in southern Alberta during the late 1880s, Cardston chief among them. With Church backing, they constructed a large canal, which opened up new farmlands and led to the founding of Magrath and Stirling.

Apostle John W. Taylor was a visionary who prophesied an important and expanding future for LDS settlements in the region.[11] With others, he backed and promoted ventures to benefit the Canadian Saints. As early as June 1892, he tried to interest Charles A. Magrath, a promoter of the Alberta Railway and Irrigation

[9]*Davis County Clipper,* 22 August 1893.

[10]J. R. Bachman, *Story of The Amalgamated Sugar Company, 1897-1961* (Ogden, Utah: Amalgamated Sugar, 1962); Leonard J. Arrington, *David Eccles, Pioneer Western Industrialist* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975), 100-106; Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966). Other board members were President Joseph F. Smith, Fred J. Kiesel, Hiram H. Spencer, Joseph Scowcroft, Adam Patterson, Joseph Clark, and George Stoddard. Amalgamated Sugar soon became linked with the American Sugar Refinery Company and therefore part of the national "sugar trust." See Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West,* 8-30.

[11]John W. Taylor, son of President John Taylor and Sophia Whittaker, was born in 1858, became an apostle in 1884, and for his frequent public prophecies was called the "Prophet of the Quorum." He was known for promoting the LDS Canadian colonies' temporal and spiritual welfare and for "how remarkably his predictions concerning the future of that country have been fulfilled." He resigned from the Quorum of the Twelve in 1906 over the issue of plural marriage. Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "John W. Taylor," in their *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 361-65; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-37; reprinted Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 3:789-90; 1:151-56.

Company projects, in growing sugar beets. In 1900, Magrath grew a test yield of beets and sent a sample to the factory at Lehi, which found the beets "wonderfully rich." He visited Utah and, with Taylor, met with Jesse Knight. Taylor said he was "authorized by the Church authorities" to interest Jesse "in the colonization of Southern Alberta."[12] Magrath and Elder Taylor told him about abundant, rich land nearby, urging him to buy some of it.[13] Enticed, Jesse sent sons Will and Raymond to survey the situation in January 1901. They reported good ranching possibilities, so Jesse, in Utah, agreed to buy 30,000 acres of grassland near Spring Coulee, fifteen miles east of Cardston. This spread became the Bar K2–K for Knight and 2 for the two Knight sons.[14]

Jesse was visiting in Stirling, Alberta, in the apring of 1901 when the sugar factory idea first hatched.[15] Canadian Stake President Charles O. Card, Apostle John W. Taylor, and non-LDS developer Magrath convinced Jesse to develop beet sugar manufacturing as an industry in Alberta. "At first, Jesse Knight considered the sugar factory idea absurd," one historian noted, "but the more Apostle Taylor talked to him the more convinced he became."[16] This was a high-risk venture: good beets could grow, but only with "optimum cooperation" from Alberta's variable weather, which was like "asking for an annual miracle."[17]

On 10 July 1901, Knight signed a contract with the Canadian Northwest Irrigation Company and the Alberta Railway Company to buy more than 200,000 acres of land, including the Kirkaldy

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[12]"A Brief History of the Early Days of Raymond, 1901-1905," 1; Hicken, "Events Leading to the Settlement," 82-83; Magrath, *The Galts,* 54-54.

[13]"A Brief History of the Early Days of Raymond, 1901-1905," 1.

[14]Knight acquired 1.5 townships of land west of the extensive McIntyre Ranch. Edward Brado, *Cattle Kingdom: Early Ranching in Alberta* (Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 138. See also (no author), *Settlers, Sugar, and Stampedes: Raymond Remembered* (Raymond, Alberta: Raymond History Book Committee 1993), 3:31. Each chapter is paginated separately.

[15]Byron C. Palmer and Craig J. Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture: From Irrigation to Agribusiness," in Card, et al., *The Mormon Presence in Canada,* 237.

[16]Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 99.

[17]Hicken, "Events Leading to the Settlement," 89.

Ranch, and to build a sugar factory to be operational by 1903. The contract stipulated that Knight would keep the factory open for at least twelve years. Consistent with his business philosophy, Jesse's primary purpose for investing was "to help build up the district."[18] As one scholar noted, "There was really no sound business explanation for Jesse Knight's proposed factory or town."[19]

At that point Jesse Knight did not know E. P. Ellison. Will Knight, at E. P.'s funeral in 1939, explained how President Snow's successor, President Joseph F. Smith, involved E. P. in the Canadian sugar venture:

> [Jesse Knight] asked President Smith if he knew of a man that he could get to help him carry forward his many projects. President Smith thought a few moments and he said "Yes, if you can get him I know a man that is capable and has wonderful ability, is dependable in every sense of the word." He said, "If you can get Ephraim P. Ellison to join you in your ventures you will get one of the best men—business men—that I know of in the State of Utah." Father did not know Ephraim Ellison at that time. I think he had never met him, but those words were what he had been praying for in his heart—someone to lighten the load. That load was lightened! When they met and talked matters over, he was not only willing to help my father with his wise advice and counsel, but he joined very liberally with his means.[20]

E. P. agreed to oversee the construction of the factory in Raymond and manage it for a few years.[21] President Smith then suggested an additional project for him. Knowing that E. P. was managing a flour mill in Layton, he urged him to consider building a flour mill in Alberta, so residents could stop importing flour from Winnipeg and Montana.[22]

THE CREATION OF RAYMOND, ALBERTA

From the start, the sugar factory concerned the LDS General

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[18]Palmer and Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture," 237.

[19]Ibid., 90.

[20] Funeral Services of Ephraim P. Ellison, Oct. 23, 1939, typescript, Ellison Family Archives.

[21]Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 49.

[22]Eva R. Ellison, "The Raymond Milling and Elevator Company Limited," in Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 56-63; E. P.'s daybook for 1902 (Ellison Family Archive) notes that Raymond then had 250 people, Sterling 440, Cardston 1,000, and Etna 200.

Authorities. In a letter read to the Council of the Twelve on 1 August 1901, Elder Taylor reported that "Brother Jesse Knight had closed a deal to put up a sugar factory at Magrath, Canada, within two years."[23] Knight located the sugar factory on a vast green prairie between Magrath and Stirling, thoughtfully positioning the town site one mile southwest and upwind from the factory. He named it Raymond, after his son. On 11 August, with Taylor and Knight in the audience of 150, Alberta Stake Patriarch John A. Woolf dedicated the factory site and stake president Charles O. Card dedicated the townsite. By then, settlers were arriving.

Turning prairie sod into farms was a Herculean task. Because Jesse Knight planned to prepare 3,000 acres for beets, he hired at least eighty plowmen and teams, thus providing much-needed cash for the struggling new settlers, many of whom were living in tents. When dry weather made plowing harder, he raised their pay, then sent to Utah for heavier horses and equipment. The acreage was surveyed into ten-acre tracts. A family could buy one tract at $10 per acre with no payment required for the first three years.[24] They planted wheat the first year with beets planned for the second.

Jesse fenced an area north of the townsite where the settlers' livestock could pasture and paid for an $8,000 pipe line to carry water to Raymond. On 8 November 1901, the Raymond Ward was organized with Will Knight as the first bishop, a good, capable leader. In December Jesse built a $2,000, one-room church building for the settlers.[25]

Emma Elizabeth Eames King, who moved to Raymond as a

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[23]Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 305; and Brigham Y. Card, "Charles Ora Card and the Founding of the Mormon Settlements in Southwestern Alberta, North-West Territories," in Card et al., *The Mormon Presence in Canada,* 107.

[24]Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family,* 57-58; MacGregor, *A History of Alberta,* 165, reports that Jesse Knight "assembled twelve teams which followed along behind each other turning over the prairie sod and preparing it for Alberta's first crop of sugar beets."

[25]Ibid.; "A Brief History of the Knight Sugar Factor Co. Ltd.," typescript, in "Minutes of the Knight Sugar Co., Ltd., 1902-1938," microfilm, Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Alberta Canada, cited hereafter as Knight Sugar Company, Minutes; Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 39; "History of Raymond First Ward 1901-1967."

new bride, said that in November 1901 Raymond had twenty buildings and some two hundred by the next June.[26] According to a local history, "Raymond grew with mushroom rapidity. Homes were springing up daily and it was difficult to get lumber and material fast enough."[27] A February 1902 report said Raymond had 400 inhabitants, many up-to-date residences, a meetinghouse, hotel, mercantile house, meat market, lumber yard, bakery, and railroad station. Home seekers, it said, "are pouring in" and carpenters were "busy erecting residences."[28] Settlers streamed in, "long on hope and short on cash."[29] Taylor informed the Twelve three months later on May 1, 1902, that the Canadian Saints expected to raise 150,000 bushels of grain and "Brother Ellison intends to build a flouring mill near Magrath at a cost of $35,000."[30]

The Knight Sugar Company

Taylor reported again to the Twelve in September that "machinery for [the] sugar factory will reach Raymond next month. Jesse Knight and friends will hold three-fourths of the stock, and E. P. Ellison and friends will hold the other one-fourth."[31] The first stockholders met at Will Knight's residence in Raymond 15 October 1902. Those attending were Jesse, Will, and Ray Knight, George W. Green, Jr., and E. P. Ellison. Green worked for E. P. at Layton Milling and Elevator. Jesse set the tone for this religious capitalist venture with an opening prayer, then said "he hoped the Lord would be with us in this undertaking and that a spirit of fairness would prompt our actions. Bro. Ellison said he concurred

[26]Elizabeth E. King, Letter to her father, 15 June 1902, in "History of Louis D. and Elizabeth E. King and Their Families," p. 22, typescript, in Emma King Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[27]"A Brief History of the Early Days of Raymond," 3.

[28]Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 28 February 1902, LDS Church Archives.

[29]*Settlers, Sugar, and Stampedes,* 3:33.

[30]Clawson, *A Ministry of Meetings,* 1 May 1902, 428. Fall harvests doubled Taylor's estimates.

[31]Ibid., 30 September 1902, 486.

in the remarks of Bro. Knight." These men elected Jesse president and E. P. vice-president and general manager, then chose their board of directors: Jesse, Ray, and Will Knight, the First Presidency (Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund), Thomas R. Cutler (chief executive of the Lehi sugar factory), and George W. Green, Jr.[32] After that point, Jesse spent little time in Canada, preferring to leave the management in E. P.'s hands.

The Knight Sugar Company's incorporation papers were completed two days later. By founding charter, the company was authorized to manufacture beet sugar and other saccharine products, to wholesale and retail them, buy and sell land and livestock, drain, fence, plant, farm, ranch, promote immigration, establish company towns in which it reserved the right to operate, control, and superintend the hotels, churches, parks, schools, baths, and work houses. Knight Sugar could also operate stone quarries, lime kilns, brick yards, and lumber yards, "and to deal in such."

For start-up capital, officers issued 10,000 shares of $100 stock to raise $1,000,000. Of the first 4,000 shares issued, Jesse Knight, his wife Amanda, and sons Will and Ray bought 80 percent. LDS Church officials held a modest 120 shares. E. P. invested $50,000 in 500 shares. The first investors and their shares of stock were:

Jesse Knight	3000	Amanda Knight	40
E. P. Ellison	500	Reed Smoot	30
J. Wm. Knight	199	John R. Winder	30
James Pingree	70	John Smith	10
Jos. F. Smith	50	Anthon H. Lund	10
Geo. Romney	50	Geo. W. Green Jr.	5
John C. Cutler	50	Ray Knight	1 [33]

Selling company lands for farms was vital to the Knight Sugar Company's plans for profitability. When directors met on 31 October, they agreed to sell land at six dollars per acre in forty-acre and eighty-acre parcels. They decided that those wanting lands for ranching purposes must take their lands on the south side of the

[32]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 17 October 1902.

33Ibid.

farm lands in larger size parcels. Jesse and E. P. built LDS principles into the deeds of sale with a clause banning the sale of liquors within two miles of Raymond.[34] The board, meeting with the First Presidency, approved this decision. But during the annual meeting on 20 March 1907, E. P. asked Jesse Knight whether the company should sell land to all applicants "or to our people only," meaning only Latter-day Saints. Ray Knight favored the first option, but the minutes do not record a decision.[35]

CONSTRUCTING THE FACTORY AND MAKING SUGAR

In October 1902, the E. H. Dyer Company of Cleveland, Ohio, broke ground for the factory. During the next eight months, 150 to 300 workmen, engineers, steelworkers, riveters, masons, and laborers erected what was the first beet sugar factory in western Canada. Their paychecks put thousands of dollars into local circulation. At first, most settlers came from Utah and Idaho; but by 1903, the Saints were also coming from Colorado, Arizona, and Europe.[36]

E. P. traveled regularly to Raymond–seven times in 1902, eight in 1903, and six in 1904–despite the length, inconvenience, and transfers to other trains required. Stirling, the nearest railroad point to Raymond, was about six miles away, and he always finished the trip with horse and wagon.[37] E. P.'s jottings in his 1902 daybook list shipments of building materials arriving in Raymond, including rough, rustic, and finished lumber, timbers, rocks, brick, lime, cement, sand, nails, bolts, white lead, linseed oil, and shingles. The $500,000 factory required 1.25 million bricks, 50 train car loads of lumber, 2,500 barrels of cement, 25 cars of structural steel and 50 cars of machinery. When finished, the factory was described as "a handsome one, built throughout of brick and steel, with cement floors. It is three stories high, 300 x 70 feet, without

[34]Ibid., 31 October 1902, and 3 February 1903.

[35]Ibid., 1 April 1907.

[36]John Campbell Lehr, "Mormon Settlements in Southern Alberta" (M.A. thesis, Univrsity of Alberta, 1971), 33.

[37]The Ellison family in Layton, Utah, have E. P.'s annual daybooks for 1902 and 1904-37. In these pocket-size books, almost daily E. P. made brief notes, memoranda, dividends earned, and other tallies and facts he needed to keep track of.

the boiler house, lime kiln, storage rooms and beet shed, while a three-story boarding house for the men has been put up."[38]

E. P.'s flour mill, named Raymond Flour Mill & Elevator, began operations on 20 January 1903. The town was incorporated on 1 July 1903, with Charles McCarthy as mayor and a population of about 1,500. Eight weeks later President Joseph F. Smith organized Taylor Stake, with Heber S. Allen as president and Will Knight as a counselor.[39] Resident Emma King remembered:

> We didn't have electric lights for 6 years; we had to burn candles or lamps! We had no water piped in the homes. . . . We had to pay a man to haul a barrel of water on a sled, or go-devil, we used to call it. In the winter the water would freeze and in the summer the water would be warm and nasty to drink. . . . There was no heat in the bedrooms. . . At first we had no screen doors and the mosquitoes would nearly eat us. . . . At night we could hear the coyotes howling.[40]

Farmers found that growing sugar beets was backbreaking toil compared to producing wheat. They had to plow, level, and seed the land. Then, while the beets grew, laborers had to thin them by hand, constantly hoe and cultivate the rows, and irrigate several times. Harvesting was equally arduous. Men had to plow up the beets, knock off the hardened soil, pile the beets in windrows, cut off the tops by hand, load the beets by hand into wagons, haul them to the factory, unload them, and haul back the dirt. Farmers also harvested beets a month later than wheat, increasing the risk of encountering bad weather.[41]

During the spring of 1903, farmers planted beets for the first time. Even though officials hired about seventy-five Chinese laborers, thinning the beets and weeding out wheat shoots from the previous year's planting were difficult.[42] The Kirkham family—a father, two sons, and their families—formed a company to grow beets on a 400-acre farm. On 17 June 1903, eleven family members began

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[38]"Raymond's First Sugar Factory," pamphlet, 1903, LDS Archives, 38-40.

[39]Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 19-23; "History of Raymond First Ward, 1901-1967."

[40]Emma Elizabeth Eames King, "Pioneer Experiences," typescript, 1-2, Emma King Papers, LDS Church Archives.

[41]Hicken, "Events Leading to the Settlement," 105.

[42]"Raymond's First Sugar Factory," 40.

work, with adults hoeing and children thinning. James Kirkham, a grandfather in his fifties who was visiting his son Francis, passed one field where he saw thirty-five girls in bib overalls and fifteen boys at work. But the task was so difficult that by month's end they could not hire thinners. On July 9, James admitted that "the work was hard on account of the roughness of the soil." On July 15 he "spent the day hoeing grain out of the beets, it was a very hard job." A week later the grain was still "very heavy" in the beets. And on the 28th they finally finished hoeing grain from nineteen acres.[43]

Ten-year-old Ezra Love Paxman arrived in Raymond in June 1903. He recalled:

> They had contracted all the acreage of sugar beets they could get from the farmers which fell short of being enough to supply a factory, so the Company had planted thousands of acres of their own land to beets. They had brought in large numbers of Indians and Chinese workers, but still there was plenty of work for every one in the beet fields. We kids got jobs immediately. The wages were small, the older kids making from $1.00 to $1.50 per day, but my pay ran from .50 to $1.00 per day. The beet industry in Canada was in the experimental stage. Nobody, including the bosses, knew much about raising beets.[44]

The inexperienced growers thinned beets seven inches apart instead of twelve to sixteen, with the result that the first crop was "a sight for sore eyes, a solid mass of foliage, waist high, and so thick you could hardly walk through it, but the tonnage was quite disappointing."[45]

In September 1903, while the sugar factory was nearing completion and the beets were maturing in the fields, Knight Sugar Company stockholders agreed to buy out and absorb the Knight Ranching Company and the Bar K2 Ranch.[46] Knight Sugar thus acquired 200 horses, 11,740 cattle, farm implements, harnesses, bridles, barns, sheds, fences, and lands. Fortunately, cattle would eat sugar beet pulp.

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[43]James Kirkham, Journal, dates cited, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

[44]"The Life History of Ezra Love Paxman," typescript, LDS Archives, 4.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 10 April 1905. The decision became official on 1 May 1904. See also Minutes, 7 September and 5 November 1903.

October was beet harvest month. By 28 October 1903, several Utah businessmen had bought Knight Sugar Company stock.[47] E. P. appointed his son, Morris, to be the resident manager of the sugar business in Raymond.[48] Morris, then twenty-two, had no experience in sugar-making, although he had been engaged in the Ellison businesses in Layton for several years.

The harvest began about mid-month. James Kirkham plowed, pulled, and topped. Indians were hired on the 22nd, followed the next day by fifty "China men." Five days later on the evening of the 28th, the Knight Sugar Company factory "was lit up for the first time with Electricity the first Electric lights seen in the city of Raymond."[49] Chopping the beets for ease in processing began, according to James, on 9 November, and on the 23rd, they "ceased cutting beets for the season."

The factory's first "run" was successful, producing sugar that, according to the *Deseret Evening News* editors, who had received a small sample, was "a little finer in its particles than the Lehi product, but it is of excellent quality, clear and white, and should stand first-class in the market." They termed it a successful "Utah venture in the Canadian Dominion."[50] The factory's first run produced "about four million pounds of sugar"--40,000 hundred-pound sacks.[51] The venture seemed so promising that the directors authorized E. P. to borrow up to $100,000 to improve operations.[52]

ANNUAL REPORTS TO THE BOARD

On 17 May 1904, the Knight Sugar Company adopted new by-laws. They stipulated that the company's annual meetings be held on the first Monday in April, that the board be comprised of nine

[47]Some of E. P.'s friends who invested were Henry H. Rolapp, Thomas D. Dee, H. T. Dyer, John Flint, W. A. Dawson, and sons James and Morris.

[48]"Sketch of Morris H. Ellison," in Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 50; Morris Ellison kept a small black daybook in 1904, from which Eva (Mrs. Reed) Ellison made excerpts for me. Letter, 7 February 1987, Knight Sugar Company File, Ellison Family Archive.

[49]James Kirkham, Journal, dates cited.

[50]Journal History, 21 November 1903.

[51]Ibid., 2 April 1906.

[52]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 7 September, 5 November, and 26 December 1903.

members elected for one-year terms, and that E. P. give annual reports to the board by March 1 each year so the directors could determine what stock dividend to declare.

E. P.'s 1904 report shows that the company's resources, primarily the factory and lands, were valued at $993,630—almost a million dollar enterprise. By then, official stationery had been printed with a fine illustrated masthead, "Knight Sugar Co. Ltd.," listing E. P. as manager.[53] After its first year, the sugar company reported "a very flourishing condition, the receipts and profits from land and cattle being especially gratifying." Stockholders received an 8 percent dividend.[54]

During 1904, farmers cultivated some 2,500 acres of sugar beets. Because of a drought, the grain crop was "almost a failure." That fall, E. P. estimated how many beets the factory might receive—20 percent lower than hoped for.

500 acres	@	10	tons	5,000 tons
500 acres	@	8	tons	4,000 tons
500 acres	@	6	tons	3,000 tons
500 acres	@	4	tons	2,000 tons
500 acres	@	2.5	tons	1,250 tons
Total				15,250 tons [55]

E. P. visited Morris during the October-November 1904 sugar run. The plant produced 31,593 bags of sugar (down 9,000 from the year before) that netted $5.50 per bag, of which 60 percent had been marketed by May 1905. Net sugar profits were about $104,257. Providing a glimpse of social history, E. P. listed LDS towns and their LDS and non-LDS populations as of 1904:

MaGrath	400	7-8% non-LDS
Stirling	700	2 families non-LDS
Raymond	1768	15-20 families non-LDS
Tabor		50 families, nearly all LDS.

[53]Letters in Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, May 1904 section.

[54]Journal History, 2 April 1906.

[55]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 10 April 1905.

Welling	70 families, 3 persons non-LDS

He gave Raymond particular attention. Of its 1,669 Saints, 343 were tithepayers who paid $12,489.56 (an average of $36 each); 40 were non-tithepayers.

The 1905 annual report showed that during the preceding fiscal year, the Knight Sugar Company sold $100,000 worth of beef cattle. Company assets totalled $1.5 million. The company owned more than 200,000 acres in three ranches and other land that was unsold residential lots, business lots, and beet lots. The sugar factory and boardinghouse were valued at $382,693.[56] They disposed of $100,000 worth of beef cattle by May 1906. Liabilities included $350,000 owed the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company for land contracts due in eight equal payments, and $1,000,000 in capital stock.[57]

For the upcoming 1905 season, the company contracted for 3,600 acres of beets, up 1,000 acres from the year before.[58] During the seasonal run, E. P. noted that one test run on 24 October 1905, had consumed 30,000 pounds of coal; producing steam that season took 183,600 pounds of coal and 1,001,586 gallons of water, leaving 74,892 pounds of ashes.[59] During the fall 1905 run, the company manufactured 46,229 hundred pound bags of sugar, as requested by Knight Sugar, a 46 percent increase from 1905. For the third year in a row the stockholders' dividend was 8 percent.

Years later, Will Knight recalled that although Alberta beets were "rich in saccarine," the factory's first years were hurt, first, by a shortage of beets and then by antagonism from "Vancouver sugar refining interests, which sought to crush the new company by underselling in the localities supplied by the Raymond factory." But the Dominion Government, wanting the Alberta effort to succeed, stopped the unfair competition and started paying a bonus of fifty cents per hundred pounds of sugar, to be divided equally between

[56]Ibid., 1 March and 10 April 1905, 2 April 1906.

[57]Ibid., 1 March 1905.

[58]Ibid., 10 April 1905.

[59]E. P. Ellison, Daybook, 1906.

beet growers and the factory. It also eliminated taxes on the factory during the contract's twelve years.[60]

The years of 1906-07 were the factory's high point in productivity, and the factory was considered "Alberta's Greatest Industry."[61] By 1906, Raymond was "a bustling, busy, little town of 2,500 people with a good local and long distance telephone service, express service, a branch of the continent's strongest bank, the Bank of Montreal, professional men, doctors, dentists, and druggists, good stores, good churches and a local newspaper."[62] It matched Lethbridge and had passed Cardston in population. Raymond's success depended on the Knight Sugar Company, which provided settlers with a "valuable source of income" and "a stabilizing force in the delicate pioneer economy."[63]

According to E. P.'s 1907 daybook, the 1906 beet season harvested 18,295 tons, cut 17,415 tons, and counted 880 tons as a loss. With prices for beets running about $5.00 per ton, the Knight Sugar Company was pumping almost $100,000 into the farming economy, while seasonal wages for 150 to 300 factory workers put another $30,000 or more into local circulation. Town promoters in September 1908 boasted of the company's assets valued at $2 million, its annual payroll of $100,000, "the best and cheapest electric lighting service in Alberta," and "two hundred thousand acres of choice land, . . . available for settlement."[64]

FACTORY'S POWER PLANT FOR RAYMOND

Optimistic about growth, E. P.'s annual report on 20 March 1907 called for Knight Sugar to build and operate a power plant for the "clamoring" town. He estimated that the "additional apparatus" would cost a comparatively modest $12,000, since the factory's

[60]Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family,* 62-63; Knight Sugar Company, Minuttes, 2 April 1906.

[61]Hicken, "Events Leading to the Settlement," 51.

[62]Ibid., 23.

[63]Lehr, "Mormon Settlements in Southern Alberta," 33.

[64]E. P. Ellison, Daybook, 1906; Committee for Church High School in Raymond, Letter to the Church Board of Education, 28 September 1908, 2, typescript, John William Evans Papers, LDS Church Archives.

buildings and boiler, already operating, would accommodate the project. He concluded:

> This would be a good thing, I think, for the town and might be the means of keeping some people there that would otherwise leave, and also a means of inducing others to locate there. I do not think it would be a source of revenue to our company, but think we could pull out even on it, my idea is for us to furnish the light at a stipulated price, by the town guaranteeing the payment, I think of a certain amount each month.[65]

E. P. also reported that he had exceeded the $150,000 that the board authorized him to expend and needed more capital "to do the volume of business we have done in the past." On 1 April 1907, the board approved the power plant and authorized E. P. to borrow up to $300,000 for company operating costs. The board declared a 10 percent dividend, the highest yet, at least partly provided by about $14,000 in government subsidies.[66]

On Christmas Eve, 1907, the power plant started generating, and Raymond was officially "electrified" three days later.[67] For a town as small as Raymond to have electricity was an unusual modification in 1907, made possible only because of the sugar factory. Its cost, according to E. P.'s 1908 report, had run $2,000 over the authorized limit because Westinghouse Electric shipped materials three months late, causing workmen to install equipment during cold weather and shortened daylight. In the preceding three months, Raymond had made 100 connections and 200 more were being installed. In return, the town exempted the sugar company "from taxes of all kinds for twenty-five years and collects all moneys for supplies and lights."[68]

RELUCTANCE TO GROW BEETS

E. P.'s 1908 report told of heavy cattle losses due to the severe winter. More seriously, experience had not made growing beets any easier. He complained that "the farmers are slow to [sign] contract[s]," and "the people of Cardston have quit altogether, the last

[65]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 1 April 1907.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 23.

[68]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 31 March 1908.

season they planted only one half the acreage contracted and delivered no beets." Farmers of Stirling unitedly held out for a higher price than Knight Sugar's five dollars per ton and a bounty. When the company refused to pay, the farmers didn't plant beets but put their energies into producing wheat and livestock. Refusing to read the danger signals correctly, the board again declared a 10 percent dividend. When Joseph F. Smith moved that Ellison be confirmed as manager, Ellison "said that he had made a request to the president to be released on account of failing health, from this position, after some considerable discussion on his being released, Joseph F. Smith renewed his motion which was put by the President and carried."[69] Would E. P. have acquiesced if his Church's prophet had not insisted? Probably not. As a result, Knight Sugar continued very much as a two-family enterprise. E. P., Jesse, and Ray Knight constituted its executive committee, while Morris Ellison, who had been resident manager since 1903, was replaced by his brother James, just returned, at age thirty-four, from a mission in California.[70]

In 1909, directors declared a 10 percent dividend for the third year and authorized E. P. "to go to England and buy one car of registered Shire Stallions, and one car of registered Shire mares" to provide heavier breeding stock for the Knight Sugar Company ranches. James Ellison, in addition to being the resident manager, was also named the company's secretary and treasurer. Late that spring, E. P., Ray Knight, and David Layton, E. P.'s business associate, sailed to England where they purchased perhaps the largest shipment of registered horses brought to Canada up to that time.[71]

Several glimpses of E. P.'s devoutness emerge from this trip. Layton recalled that E. P. always suggested morning prayers. When one seller, impressed by E. P.'s skill at judging horses, suggested closing the deal with a drink and offered cider or whiskey, he was startled when E. P. answered, "Oh, a glass of milk or water," and exclaimed, "Oh, that's poor stuff at the best."[72] After the five-week

[69]Ibid., 6 April 1908.

[70]Ibid.; Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 53-55.

[71]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 3 May 1909; Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 47-51.

[72]Oma Ellison Wilcox, Notes of David E. Layton conversation, undated,

visit, E. P. noted in his daybook with some disdain that an Englishman had four necessaries of life: "Wines, Spirits, Beer, & Tobacco."[73]

The Knight Sugar Company's directors declared a 12 percent dividend in the spring of 1910.[74] That year, Raymond constructed a three-story brick school to replace a smaller one, and the appreciatively named Knight Academy for high school students opened its doors.[75] In the fall of 1910, the company faced "limited crops" of beets.[76]

At the shareholders meeting in April 1911, the directors announced a 12 percent dividend. The record shows that 9,028 shares were represented. Major shareholders were the Knight Investment Company (3,570 shares), David Eccles (2,000), LDS Trustee-in-Trust (Joseph F. Smith, 530), and E. P. Ellison (512). Joseph F. Smith personally moved "a vote of thanks" to E. P. Ellison "for his efficient and successful management."[77]

CLOSING YEARS

From that point on, the news was increasingly bad. The fall harvest in 1911 was the first and worst of three straight years of failure to obtain the needed beets and laborers. Temperatures fell below zero during the harvest, freezing beets in the field and leaving wheat standing in snow-covered shocks. Below-zero temperatures during the fall harvest season meant that the sugar producers had to accept defeat.[78] "We are running the factory, but that will not last long, as we have not very many beets on hand," E. P. wrote Jesse Knight from Raymond on 10 November. "It is certainly very discouraging to nearly everybody."[79] In what seems like a sudden decision,

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Ellison Family Archive.

[73]E. P. Ellison, Daybook, 6 May 1909.

[74]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 4 April 1910.

[75]Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 23.

[76]Knight Investment Company, 17 August 1910, 10 November 1911, in Knight Investment Company Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[77]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 3 April 1911.

[78]Knight Investment Company, Minutes, 10 November 1911.

[79]E. P. Ellison, Letter to Jesse Knight, 10 November 1911, Knight Investment Company Papers.

only six weeks later the Knight Sugar Company board authorized E. P. to sell the factory, farms, and ranches; if a buyer could be found within the next two months, it could purchase the company's land at seventeen dollars per acre and have the factory free.[80] No buyers appeared. Given the succession of high dividends declared and the large sums of investment capital pumped into the project, the decision seems almost capricious. Obviously, the minutes and existing records do not adequately reflect E. P.'s increasing fatigue, the repeated problems with supply and weather that had finally convinced him Alberta was not beet-growing country, and the lack of a viable solution.

In 1912 the company tried again to increase their beet supply. James and Morris Ellison personally recruited beet field workers in Belgium, Holland, England, and France.[81] It is not known how successful their efforts were, although E. P. made a notation on 26 March 1912 that "Belginns arrived 58 in all." When he visited Raymond three months later, he found "the worst prospects for beets that we have ever had, except possibly the first year." Drought had caused "a very poor stand of beets" and an equally bad wheat crop, although cattle were "first rate."[82] In November 1912, Jesse Knight was still willing to entertain the possibility of retaining the factory, using phrases like "in case we cannot make it pay where it is" in a letter to E. P.[83] E. P., meanwhile, dutifully continued to seek a buyer and even investigated an inquiry from Port Mann, British Columbia, about whether Knight Sugar would build a new factory there.[84]

It was clear, however, that E. P.'s energies and will were almost gone. On 7 April 1913, he submitted his resignation as general manager of the Knight Sugar Company "because the time and personal attention required by his varied interests caused him to feel

[80]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 22 December 1911.

[81]Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 54.

[82]E. P. Ellison, Letter to Jesse Knight, 20 June 1912, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[83]Jesse Knight, Letter to E. P. Ellison, 13 November 1912, Knight Investment Company, Minutes.

[84]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 1 April 1913.

that the company's business should be entrusted to someone else." This time, his resignation was not opposed. The other directors thanked him for "faithful and efficient service in the successful conduct of the company's business from its beginning to date" and elected his son James at the same annual salary of $5,000. E. P. agreed to serve on the executive committee with Jesse and Ray Knight.

A change in management did not, however, change the conditions against which E. P. had vainly struggled. That July 1913, James reported that the grain was suffering from a dry season but that the beets were still growing quite well, despite a hard-hitting hailstorm a few weeks earlier. He did not comment on the acreage.[85]

In November, James wrote again, reporting that the weather was so "lovely" that "we will have all the beets up this week and made into sugar." That was the good news. The bad news was, "The run will be short. It seems impossible to get the farmers to raise beets."[86] Meanwhile, in Utah, an aging Jesse Knight was feeling overextended. On Christmas day, he admitted to the Knight Investment Company board, owners of a majority interest in Knight Sugar, that Knight Investment Company had taken on a number of expensive enterprises during the past year. Will Knight found these new projects unwise "in view of our financial condition," but Jesse defended his Christian capitalism: "[He] conceded that the financial burden seems heavy but that he was moved to assume these obligations as a duty placed upon him by providence to acquire, hold and develop the country for the benefit of the Saints. He added that it is his abiding faith that we would be sustained and assisted when in need because of obligations undertaken with such objects in view."[87]

Early in 1914, trying to increase beet production immediately and spur eventual land sales, the board offered to rent land to settlers at $2.50 per acre per year, to furnish the use of a house,

[85]James E. Ellison, Letter to Jesse Knight, 25 July 1913, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[86]James E. Ellison, Letters to Jesse Knight, 3 and 4 November 1913, Knight Investment Company, Minutes. Adding to the bad news was that fact that workman Walter Barrett had been killed when his clothing were caught by a machine in the factory.

[87]Knight Investment Company, Minutes, 25 December 1913.

team, some pigs, and a cow, and to guarantee the right to purchase forty acres with ten equal payments. In return, the settlers would have to raise twenty acres of sugar beets annually. Apparently, the response was not enthusiastic.[88]

By fall James Ellison reported to Will Knight that the K2 properties were for sale and that he saw only two options for the factory: move it to eastern Canada or "raise most of the beets ourselves." The price of sugar was high enough that the company would be profitable, he felt—"if we had some beets." The inventory included five to six thousand bags, but he gloomily predicted that the expenses of "preparing the beet land, seeding the same, and keeping the weeds down this season, . . . will more than eat up all our profits." Furthermore, "our beet crop is almost a total failure"—"not enough to start the factory for"—and the grain "is very very poor." He had also been unable to collect payments past due on farm land. The one bright spot was in livestock. World War I had erupted in Europe, and the Canadian military needed cavalry and draft horses and beef cattle. "We are doing everything possible to sell all the horses we possibly can," he concluded.[89]

E. P. visited the factory the next month, held full discussions with Ray and James, and reported their conclusion to Jesse Knight: "The factory should be closed down for next year."[90] This conclusion followed E. P.'s recommendation the month before that the factory be disassembled and moved. After considering northern Cache Valley and Spanish Fork in Utah, he had settled on his home town of Layton, a recommendation Will Knight concurred in because the factory would be easier to manage and supervise there, local farmers knew about sugar beets, labor unions would not be a problem in that part of Utah, and the factory would benefit Utah people.[91] In December, the board voted to close the Raymond factory.

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[88]Ibid., 6 April 1914.

[89]James E. Ellison, Letter to J. Will Knight, 23 September 1914, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[90]E. P. Ellison, Letter to Jesse Knight, 17 December 1914, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[91]E. P. Ellison, Letter to Jesse Knight, 27 November 1914 and J. Will Knight, Letter to E. P. Ellison, 19 December 1914, Knight Investment Company Papers.

Their decision produced a storm of protest in Alberta's Mormon towns. The Lethbridge Board of Trade, pinpointing supply as the problem, polled farmers to see how many beets they would be willing to grow. The results were discouraging. Because thinning and weeding were so labor intensive, farmers felt they could commit to grow one acre each rather than the desired five or ten. One man suggested schoolboys as a labor pool. Another proposed that city grow beets on a civic farm. A commissioner said Taber farmers could grow enough beets for a dozen factories "if they were given irrigation." Bishop J. W. Evans of Raymond Second Ward, who polled Coaldale farmers, reported that they were singlehandedly willing to grow enough beets to keep the factory. The Coaldale men immediately created a committee to visit farmers and urge them to grow beets.[92]

Bishop Evans's pleading letter described how the announcement had "stirred up Southern Alberta as a whole" and reported that reluctant farmers were now eager to pledge beet acreage to keep the factory. Part of their earlier reluctance, he pointed out with some justification, was because the company had not had a field superintendent to instruct the inexperienced farmers in growing methods. "You may safely expect large returns," he promised. He believed that the Canadian Pacific Railroad, vitally interested in developing the country, could profitably be approached about raising sugar beets on its considerable property and reported that the railroad's vice president had assured him that they were "willing to do anything we can to assist in retaining it [the factory] there."

At a mass meeting of farmers in Magrath, Ray Knight warned them, "This is no scare, gentlemen. The factory will be moved unless we get the raw product. Beets are what we want, enough to make a profitable run. If we can get the beets, I believe the plant will stay in Alberta." They followed his suggestion to appoint a committee of eight influential farmers to solicit commitments for 1915-16 beet acreage. The farmers in the meeting pledged to sustain the factory, and spokesmen hoped that "if people showed they genuinely wanted

[92]Unlabeled clippings and letter from Bishop J. W. Evans to Jesse Knight, 5 January 1915, Knight Investment Company Papers.

the factory and would support it, the company would reverse their decision."[93]

Jesse Knight's answer to Evans expressed sincere concern. The Knight Sugar Company officials had worked earnestly for weeks to decide what was best for the company and for Raymond's residents. While the committee was not unanimous in its judgment, the majority looked at twelve years of largely negative experience and could not recommend its continuance. He acknowledged that "many of the farmers and ranchers have lost money in their endeavor to maintain the sugar factory." Giving up cleanly would let the farmers concentrate on raising hay, grain, and/or cattle, "which would be a surer crop for them and they would not be so dependent on outside labor." Jesse expressed "only the best of desires for the success of the Raymond and Southern Alberta farmers and would even be willing to take a loss, so far as the Sugar Company is concerned, if I knew that by so doing it would work to the ultimate benefit of the district. As to this point I am not thoroughly convinced." He admitted that "I am inclined to let other members [of the board] decide the question."[94]

Ray Knight was apparently persuaded by the farmers' alarm to oppose the decision. On 14 January 1915, he sent an urgent telegram from Canada to Will Knight: "Sugar factory should not be moved. If decision is not iron clad I will come down right away. Don't think any of you know spirit and feeling of people up here." Will answered succinctly: "Nothing but sure sale would change decision." A day later Bishop Evans wired Will: "Wire best price and terms for factory and sugar section. Strong financial concerns interested to keep plant here." Encouraged, Will replied: "Will agree to sell factory and sugar section for $275,000.00 if $50,000.00 is deposited immediately with bank of Montreal at Raymond as first payment, deferred payments bearing seven per cent. Will consider deal closed if bank wires us first payment as above is made."[95]

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[93]Ibid.

[94]Jesse Knight, Letter to J. W. Evans, 19 January 1915, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[95]Telegrams included in letter from J. Will Knight to E. P. Ellison, 15 January 1915, Knight Investment Company Papers.

Desperately, several southern Alberta leaders tried to find a buyer, but without success. On 26 January, E. P. signed a contract with a firm to dismantle the Raymond factory, move it to Layton, and have it operational by September.[96] Simultaneously, he began contracting with farmers around Layton to plant beets that spring. Mormon sugar in Alberta seemed to be a closed chapter.

However, when Dyer Company, the dismantlers, sent three train cars of derricks to Alberta, the Canadian Pacific Railway got a court injunction blocking the factory's removal on the grounds that Knight Sugar had broken its contract to operate for twelve years.[97] Ellison countered by arranging for the Dyer Company to build a totally new factory at Layton. It opened that fall and operated successfully for many years.

At the directors meeting on 5 April 1915, President Joseph F. Smith participated actively in deliberations, along with Jesse and E. P.[98] During the winter of 1915-16, company officers investigated an offer by James Fowler of Toronto to buy the factory and move it to eastern Canada. They visited the proposed site at Whitby, Ontario, and decided against it. As a second part of their visit, they called on Canadian Pacific Railroad officials and gave them three options: purchase the factory, "withdraw their objections" to the move, or face a law suit. On 11 October 1916, CPR officials wired E. P. to "take such action you wish removal plant."[99] Barely a month later on 15 November, Knight Sugar sold the factory to J. A. Hendrickson and Lorenzo N. Stohl, who moved it to Cornish in northern Utah in 1917.[100]

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[96]E. P. Ellison, Letter to J. Will Knight, 26 January 1915, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[97]"Work on Knight Sugar Factory to Begin Soon," *Deseret News,* 9 March 1915, 2.

[98]Knight Sugar Company, Minutes, 5 April 1915.

[99]G. M. Bosworth, Telegram to E. P. Ellison, 11 October 1916, Knight Investment Company Papers.

[100]E. P. Ellison and J. William Knight, Letter to Board of Directors, 9 May 1918, Knight Sugar Company, Minutes. West Cache Sugar Company paid two $25,000 installments then, instead of selling bonds, gave Knight Investment Company ninety cents on the dollar for its stock, totalling $150,000 plus a $6,000 bonus. West Cache sold this stock to Knight Investment Company for a $135,000 note

Meanwhile, E. P. and his associates continued to operate Ellison Milling and Elevator in Canada. Knight Investment Company maintained the Canadian ranches and unsold farm acreage, until the 1930s when banks foreclosed on the Bar K2, after which the McIntyre Ranch acquired it.[101] Possibly, if there had been some way for Knight Sugar to hang on for another decade, it would have seen a profitable return on its investment. In 1925, LDS Church President Heber J. Grant, who was also president of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, moved an unproductive sugar factory from Washington state to Raymond and reestablished the sugar industry—Canadian Sugar Factories, Ltd.—"this time with marked success."[102] In 1931, that company was sold to British Columbia Sugar Refining Company, which continued in business until it closed in 1963.

Evaluating Mormon Sugar in Alberta

Despite several fair-to-good sugar runs, Alberta histories agree that, overall, "the venture failed."[103] First, as Will Knight pointed out, "It seemed impossible to get the farmer to grow beets in sufficient quantity," which meant that the factory "never had a sufficient supply of beets to make its operation a financial success."[104] Unpredictable harsh weather hurt the growing beets. Inexperienced growers improperly planted or tended their beets. But shortages occurred mostly because farmers found the crop so labor intensive that the rewards did not justify the effort. "There was just not enough energy in the backs of the beet growers to produce enough beets," a recent assessment states.[105] Furthermore, as markets developed for easier-to-produce wheat and livestock, farmers gradually reduced their beet acreage to increase wheat and livestock production.

Yet evaluating Mormon sugar in Alberta strictly as a business

payable on or before 23 January 1918, earning 6 percent interest.

[101]Brado, *Cattle Kingdom,* 138.

[102]Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 106; Lehr, "Mormon Settlements in Southern Alberta," 4:37-38.

[103]Brado, *Cattle Kingdom,* 138.

[104]As quoted in Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 105.

[105]Palmer and Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture," 239.

omits a significant component. As contemporary participant Charles Magrath observed, although the factory "was never a financial success," it was a great boon to the settlers.[106] Like so many businesses that have had limited lifetimes, the Raymond sugar factory benefitted people and place for several years. For LDS officials and businessmen to promote, invest in, and encourage the sugar enterprise provided both moral and financial support for Mormon outposts at a time when they needed such a boost. The Raymond enterprise was an honorable twentieth-century successor to Mormonism's nineteenth-century legacy of communal efforts. Estimates are that the sugar enterprise drew 1,500 settlers to the Raymond area, many of whom became fixture families in southern Canada's towns, vital to the Church's success in the area.[107]

For a decade, in addition to its economic benefits, Knight Sugar created a sense of pride and accomplishment among local Mormons whenever they saw sugar sacks with "their" label on them. Knight Sugar firmly established Raymond, even providing it with a power plant, so that it continued as a viable community even after the factory closed. Knight Sugar also catalyzed other economic developments in the area, including land ownership, the milling and grain elevator enterprises, wheat farming, the cattle industry, stores and commercial operations, transportation systems, and schools.

In 1902 President Joseph F. Smith saw a need for enterprise to help the Saints survive in southern Alberta. He asked Jesse Knight to help, even if the sugar venture lost money. He introduced Knight to E. P. Ellison, who shared Smith's and Knight's commitment to creating enterprises that, in Lorenzo Snow's terms, would "use your riches to give employment" to individuals and enhance communities." It is very doubtful that President Smith, Jesse Knight, or E. P. Ellison would consider their sugar venture a failure. Quite the opposite. As a faith-motivated enterprise intended to strengthen Mormon settlements and help provide livelihoods during a crucial settlement period, the Knight Sugar Company's operations were a major, positive contribution.

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[106]As quoted in Hicken, *"Roundup,"* 104.

[107]*Settlers, Sugar, and Stampedes, 3:31.*

Ellison Milling and Elevator Company: Alberta Wheat with Utah Roots

Gregory P. Christofferson

ELLISON MILLING AND ELEVATOR COMPANY, an Alberta business landmark, had its genesis in Salt Lake City, in the fall of 1901, when Ephraim Peter Ellison (1850-1939) of Layton, Utah, was called to the office of President Joseph F. Smith. Smith's purpose in the meeting was to introduce Ellison to Jesse Knight, an entrepreneur in Utah like himself, who was looking for the right person to build a sugar factory in southern Alberta, Canada. The two agreed to do business; and Smith suggested, "Brother Ellison, in addition to building the Knight Sugar Factory, you would be doing the Mor-

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mon people at Cardston, Magrath, Stirling and the new town of Raymond, a public service if you would consider starting a flour mill. Presently they are obliged to get their flour from Montana, or Winnipeg, Canada."[1] It was a suggestion that Ellison took seriously and implemented.

This southern Alberta venture in raising wheat and milling flour was made possible by the confluence of three preexisting conditions. The first was the settlement of substantial numbers of Mormons in the area, providing a strong labor and farming pool. John Taylor, as Church president, had called Charles Ora Card, president of Utah's Cache Valley Stake, in 1886 to explore possible settlement sites in southwestern Canada for Mormons fleeing prosecution under the anti-polygamy laws of the time. As Card and his companions "passed the stone monument that designates the line [between Washington and British Columbia], I took off my hat, swung it around and shouted, 'In Columbia we are free!'"[2] Card's party explored southern Alberta, made a favorable report to Church leaders, and formed the advance guard of a trickle of colonists that, following the Church's financial backing of the enterprise, became a flood.[3] By the time Ellison arrived in Alberta, Mormons dominated the Cardston area and satellite communities outside of Lethbridge. For example, E. P.'s 1904 daybook puts Raymond's population at 1,768 of which 1,669 were Mormons, including 343 tithepayers and 40 non-tithepayers.[4]

The second foundational factor for the wheat and milling

[1]Eva R. Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence in Canada," 1992, typescript, 30 pp.; photocopy in my possession, 1.

[2]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada* (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald Co., Ltd., 1968), 25. See also Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis, eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990); Donald G. Godfrey's article, "Zina Young Williams Card: Brigham's Daughter, Cardston's First Lady," in this issue, and Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886 1903* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

[3]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada*, 54-58.

[4]William G. Hartley, *To Build, To Create, To Produce: Ephraim P. Ellison's Life and Enterprises, 1850-1939* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1997), 192.

industry in southern Alberta was the construction of the trans-Canadian railways. By 1883, the Canadian Pacific Company (CPC) had reached Fort Calgary. In the next few years, its "Soo" line enabled grain shipment to the East, and its "Crow's Nest" line linked Lethbridge to Nelson, B.C.[5] Thus a transportation infrastructure was in place by 1900 which allowed wheat and flour to reach distant markets. Furthermore, in exchange for federal subsidies to build the system, the Canadian Pacific Company agreed to government-regulated shipping rates on grain and flour, making such shipping economic to the producers.[6]

Third, Mormon irrigation techniques learned in the Great Basin allowed agricultural developments that would otherwise have been postponed.[7] Charles A. Magrath, land developer, CPC manager, and a future director of Ellison Milling, wrote: "In my opinion, the movements of the Mormons to Southern Alberta was [sic] an inestimable value in opening of that section of the West. They understood irrigation, and having made Lethbridge their market town, we were continually told of the wealth that could be created by the diversion of some of our waters that were wasting down our rivers."[8]

Thus, the availability of relatively large numbers of Mormon farmers and laborers, a railroad infrastructure to transport wheat and flour for sale beyond local markets, and the Mormon involvement in the construction of large-scale irrigation projects set the stage for entrepreneur E. P. Ellison's prophet-mandated assignment.

E. P. entered the new venture with a background in the flour milling business. In 1890, E. P., along with several others in the

[5]C. F. Wilson, *A Century of Canadian Grain* (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), 4.

[6]Ibid., 5.

[7]For a discussion of the integral Mormon part immigrants played in creating Alberta's irrigation system, see Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* chap. 6; and Brigham Y. Card, "Charles Ora Card and the Founding of the Mormon Settlements in Southwestern Alberta, North-West Territories," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada,* 93-97.

[8]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 63. The town of Magrath was named for him.

Layton-Kaysville area of Davis County, Utah, created the Layton Milling and Elevator Company and built a flour mill. Layton Milling was for some period of time the largest flour milling operation in Utah and E. P. served as president and general manager for thirty-one years.[9]

Upon arrival in the new town of Raymond, Alberta (named after Jesse Knight's oldest son), E. P. let the contract with E. H. Dyer and Company to build the sugar factory and then turned his attention to the construction of a flour mill.[10] Non-Mormon oldtimers scoffed, knowing that local farmers had tried without success to produce good milling wheat. The 1862 Palliser Report to the Government, advising on the purchase of Western lands from the Hudson Bay Company, stated, "There would never be enough rainfall to produce a crop of wheat in the [Raymond] area."[11]

But when E. P. learned that prairie grass had been belly-high to a horse the previous year, he felt positive that early-maturing species of dry-farm wheat would do as well as native grasses and that eventual irrigation would increase yields. E. P. solicited investment funds from Utah friends. With capital of $32,100, the Raymond Milling and Elevator Company was organized in Raymond, Northwest Territories, in the spring of 1902 and construction began on a frame elevator and mill.[12] E. P.'s cousin, Elijah Laycock, demonstrated his support by being the first to plow the virgin sod to plant wheat. Others soon followed.

Coal to fuel the boiler of the steam engine in the red brick boiler room was hauled from Lethbridge over the Benton Trail. A pond was dredged and filled with irrigation water to supply the boilers. As a summer swimming pool and winter skating rink, it also provided early recreation for Raymond.[13]

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9 Hartley, *To Build, To Create, To Produce,* 160-61.

10 The Knight Sugar Company venture in southern Alberta eventually failed as farmers struggled with unfavorable conditions and failed to provide enough beets for the factory to run profitably. The factory was eventually sold, dismantled, and moved to Cornish, Utah. See Jesse William Knight, *The Jesse Knight Family: Jesse Knight, His Forebears and Family* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 52-64.

11 Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 2.

12 Alberta did not become a Province until 1905.

The new elevator had a capacity of 50,000 bushels, and it received its first load of grain on 3 October 1902. The 150-barrel roller mill began grinding wheat into flour on 3 January 1903. The flour sacks bore the name "Our Best" flour.

E. P. initially served as president and manager; however, soon after the mill was operational, he told the directors at the meeting on 29 April 1903 "that he had acted as manager of the company during the construction of the mill, and it was understood that as soon as it was completed he was to be released, and therefore he now presented his resignation." He announced that he had hired George W. Green, his employee at Layton Milling, to be the new manager.[14] Green's contract was for one year at a salary of one hundred dollars per month.[15] The seven directors ratified E. P.'s decision, allotted him 2 percent of the capital stock for his services, and reelected him president.[16]

After six months of operation, Green reported that the mill had operated 120 days, 11 hours per day, except for May when the run was 10 hours.[17] In light of this optimistic report, John W. Taylor, a company director and Mormon apostle, proposed constructing a second elevator and mill in Magrath. E. P., however, cautioned that "weather could be a factor as 12 inches of snow hindered the last harvest somewhat, so expansion should be well considered."[18]

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[13]Arthur N. Green, Oral History, as quoted in Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 3.

[14]Byron C. Palmer and Craig J. Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture: From Irrigation to Agribusiness," in Card et al., *The Mormon Presence in Canada,* 241, 243.

[15]Raymond Milling and Elevator Company, Ltd., Minutes, 28 pp., 29 April 1903; holograph minutes in Ellison Enterprises, Ltd., Lethbridge Alberta; photocopy of minutes from 29 April 1903 through 31 August 1906 in my possession. On 31 August 1906, the company was absorbed into Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Ltd.

[16]Raymond Milling and Elevator, Minutes, 29 April 1903. These officers and directors were reelected: Ephraim P. Ellison, president; Levi Harker, vice-president; E. B. Hicks, secretary and Raymond Knight, treasurer; and directors Charles McCarthy, J. William Knight, J. J. Head, John W. Taylor, L. H. Baker and W. W. McIntyre.

[17]Raymond Milling and Elevator, Minutes, "Extract of Managers Report From Feb. 7, 1903 to July 1st, 1903," inserted as a separate sheet.

In July 1904, two new directors were installed: Charles A. Magrath and George W. Green, replacing John W. Taylor and Charles McCarthy who had sold their interests in the Company.[19] Magrath's appointment was most fortunate. Son-in-law of Sir Alexander Galt, a wealthy Englishman who had come to mine coal and build the Canadian West, Magrath had worked hard to encourage settlement in southern Alberta. As the first mayor of Lethbridge, he welcomed the Cardston Mormons and noted their industry and expertise in irrigation. In April 1898, he met with the First Presidency and other business leaders in Salt Lake City and arranged for two contingents of Utah work missionaries to construct a canal from the St. Mary's River to irrigate the dry land east of Cardston, Alberta's first large-scale irrigation project.[20] Payment was half in cash and half in land at three dollars an acre. In 1899, two groups of 250 men, women, and children had settled in Stirling and Magrath, naming the latter town in his honor.[21]

At the first Raymond Milling Company board meeting which Magrath attended, a letter from E. P. was read: "As the weather is so dry, the prospects are bad for a good crop. It might be unwise to begin work on the Magrath elevator until crops are assured." The directors tabled the plans; but by June 1905, the directors supported a motion by Magrath to build an elevator at Magrath "to store the year's crop of wheat."[22] That same year, E. P.'s son, Morris H. Ellison, bookkeeper for the Knight Sugar Factory, was added to the board to represent his father, who was not always able to come from Utah to attend meetings. These trips from Layton to Lethbridge were strenuous, taking about fifty hours one way and requiring several train changes; and Morris's daybook shows that E. P. had come six times from Utah between May and November of 1904, staying ten days to three weeks each time.[23]

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[18]Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 4.

[19]Raymond Milling and Elevator, Minutes, 6 July 1904.

[20]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 64.

[21]Morris Ellison, Oral History, as quoted in "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 5.

[22]Raymond Milling and Elevator, Minutes, 21 June 1905.

[23]Morris H. Ellison, Daybook, 1904, Ellison Enterprises, Ltd.; see Hartley, *To*

At their January 1906 board meeting, the directors, heartened by the abundant 1905 wheat crop, declared a dividend of 15 percent and approved the construction of a 150 barrel mill for Magrath to accompany its elevator. This structure was completed in the fall of 1906.[24] The company had doubled its milling capacity in four crop years.

The impact of the Raymond Milling Company on the Alberta wheat industry can be seen in the agricultural census. The census year of 1901 shows zero acreage planted in wheat in Alberta. The next census year, 1906, shows 224,000 acres planted to wheat.[25]

Lethbridge, with a population of some 4,000 was the area's railway hub. Charles Magrath, now president of the Board of Trade, convinced board members to offer special incentives to entice the company to expand its operations to Lethbridge.[26]

E. P. negotiated a tax-abatement agreement with Lethbridge which foreshadowed similar deals offered today by states and municipalities attempting to entice new businesses. In exchange for constructing a 150 barrel mill, moving the office to Lethbridge, and changing the Raymond Milling name, the city granted total exemption from taxation for fifteen years. An additional five-year exemption would be granted should the company enlarge its mill or construct another one with a capacity of 500 barrels per twenty-four hours. The company increased the milling capacity to 500 barrels per day in 1917.

The new name chosen was Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Ltd., at Magrath's suggestion, not only to honor E. P., but also "to do away with any local jealousies on account of the company operations being conducted under the name of any of the towns wherein it has its mills."[27] The company received its Certificate of

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Build, To Create, To Produce, 244-45, for a description of the difficult and tedious trip.

[24]Raymond Milling and Elevator, Minutes, 19 January 1906.

[25]Wilson, 23. "Table 1.2: Area of Field Crops Prairie Provinces, Census Years 1901-1921." The Canadian Wheat Board did not maintain separate statistics for wheat cultivation in southern Alberta vs. all of Alberta. However, southern Alberta production comprises approximately one-third to one-half of total Alberta production.

[26]Raymond Milling and Elevator, Minutes, 31 August 1906.

Corporation (No. 122) from the Province of Alberta, on 30 October 1906, with E. P. as its president. With the cost of construction of the new mill in Lethbridge and the absorption into the company of the other two mills, the total capital investment of Ellison Milling and Elevator Company Ltd. now stood at more than $115,000.[28]

The construction of the mill also marked the introduction of what would become a significant Mormon presence and influence in Lethbridge. Before 1906, one local group had successfully forbidden Mormons from purchasing land within ten miles of the city.[29] John H. F. Green, purchasing agent for the project, reported that about twenty Mormon workmen from the Raymond and Magrath plants worked on the Lethbridge mill, often remaining "in the city over the weekend when weather was not favorable for them to return home. Elder Emil Weed, a resident, held some sacrament services in his home and acted as Presiding Elder for a short time."[30] The 1911 census recorded only 74 Mormons in a Lethbridge population of 9,035.[31] The most prominent Church members were the family of George W. Green (later bishop of Lethbridge Ward), who moved

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 9-11.

[29]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 129. The Mormons constructing the canal system settled on land along the irrigation ditch leading into Lethbridge. At the turn of the century, the Reverend Charles McKillop, a Presbyterian and most prominent of the Lethbridge Protestant ministers of the time, traveled to Ontario in a vain effort to attract farmers to the Lethbridge area to counterbalance these Mormons. William M. Baker, *Lethbridge: Founding the Community to 1914: A Visual History,* Occasional Paper No. 27 (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Historical Society, 1992), 23. By 1909, the Lethbridge Branch had been organized with an average of eighteen people in attendance at sacrament meetings. Branch President Robert J. Gordon remarked on 5 December 1909, "I believe we are doing well here in Lethbridge. People are becoming better acquainted with us and find we are not so bad as we are reported." As quoted in Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 129 and Howard Palmer, "Polygamy and Progress: The Reaction to Mormons in Canada 1887-1923," in Card et al., *The Mormon Presence in Canada.* Also see Card, "Initial Reaction to the Mormons," 110-17; and "The Mormon 'Menace': The Protestant Churches and the Anti-Mormon Crusade," 120-23.

[30]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 127-28.

[31]Baker, *Lethbridge: Founding the Community,* 30.

from Raymond in January 1911 as company manager. Early baptismal services were held in a "cleaned out grain pit" at the Ellison Milling Company.[32]

Between 1909 and 1917, several new elevators were added, even though the Magrath mill burned in 1915 and was not rebuilt. Dividends were generous—as high as 16 percent—and the company's capital stock was increased to $500,000 through the sale of new shares.[33]

As Canada was drawn into World War I, the demand for wheat flour exceeded the supply, and the mill was forced to sell barley and rye flours mixed with wheat flour. The mixture made for poor baking, but patriotic Canadian housewives accepted the government-mandated regulation. World War I also brought the need for a body to regulate trade and prices.[34] Fear of market manipulation and the need to establish fair prices for producer and consumer led to the creation of the Board of Grain Supervisors in June 1917.[35] Wheat futures trading was suspended and the government assumed complete control over the purchase and sale of wheat for export, including control over prices and destinations.[36]

The war had a two-fold effect on Ellison Milling Company. High prices for wheat brought more grain to the company for grinding and opened new foreign markets. However, attempts to restore wheat marketing to private enterprise failed and the Canadian Wheat Board became a permanent regulatory agency. The company increasingly felt the effects of bureaucratic regulation as the years passed.[37]

Its post-war activities included not only wheat milling and storage but loans to farmers for seed and credit extended to commercial customers. Ellison Milling now had a financial stake in all aspects of the wheat business—literally from seed to bread. In the

[32]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 130.

[33]Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 9-11.

[34]Wilson, *A Century of Canadian Grain,* 89.

[35]Ibid., 95.

[36]*Grains & Oilseeds: Handling, Marketing, Processing: Vol. 1,* 4th ed. (Winnipeg: Canadian International Grains Institute, 1993), 106.

[37]Wilson, *A Century of Canadian Grain,* 118-45.

economic depression following World War I, a brief rise in the price of wheat, followed by a sharp decline, had caused many farmers to overspend on land and equipment and to speculate in wheat futures. Anticipating higher prices, most farmers had held their grain, taking large advances in part payment; Ellison Milling was conducting a rather extensive business in grain futures for its customers. By early 1921, the staff could hardly keep up with the work and hedging positions were not always "closed out" in time to save the company from loss.[38]

The summer of 1921 found the company with heavy accounts receivable and a substantial loan liability with the Standard Bank of Canada. The bank wanted personal guarantees from the directors before it would extend a line of credit to cover grain purchases for the next crop year. The directors were naturally reluctant to acquiesce and asked E. P. to come help resolve the financial problems.[39] When he arrived, E. P. proposed a sale of treasury stock as a new class of preferred shares at 8 percent with a ten-year maturity. The $75,000 in working capital raised by the sale of these preferred shares satisfied the bank and enabled the company to finance its way through the 1920-23 depression.[40] As economic conditions improved, the company began a decade-long expansion program.

By 1921, Lethbridge was a city of over 11,000, among whom were approximately 500 Mormons. Several wards and branches east, west, and north of the city were all part of the Alberta Stake. In November, the Lethbridge Stake—the eighty-fourth in the Church and third in Canada—was organized.[41] George W. Green was called as first counselor to President Hugh B. Brown, later an apostle and counselor in the First Presidency. For the next three decades, up to

[38]Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 11.

[39]Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Ltd., Minutes, 31 August 1921; originals at Ellison Enterprises, Ltd., Lethbridge, Alberta; photocopy in my possession.

[40]Ibid., 14 November 1921.

[41]Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 133. The Lethbridge Stake was originally bounded by the Saskatchewan-Alberta border on the east, a township line just south of the city, the British Columbia-Alberta border on the west, and the North Pole! Membership totalled 2,470. This area is now covered by eleven LDS stakes.

three-fourths of the four Lethbridge Stake presidency members were officers of Ellison Milling Company.[42] Considerate of other religions represented by company employees, in 1921 the directors authorized a $250 donation toward a pipe organ for local Methodist Church.[43]

In November 1923, a fire destroyed the original 1902 plant at Raymond. It was not rebuilt, since improvements in rail and surface transportation made it practical to move all of the milling to Lethbridge. A new 45,000 bushel elevator was constructed at Raymond, using some of the bricks and scrap lumber salvaged from the fire, and another was constructed at Cardston.[44] In 1928 the company announced plans to build four new grain elevators in the country chain; in 1929, warehouse and distribution buildings were purchased or built in Nelson, B.C., and Calgary, giving the company two additional warehousing and shipping points.[45]

Following board approval in 1929 for expansion of the Lethbridge plant, the *Lethbridge Herald* published a rendering of the proposed new railroad and mill facilities:

> This is a view of the first modern concrete elevator in the Lethbridge railway division, a section of country producing one-third of all grain raised in the Province of Alberta. . . . The terminal will have a 60,000 bushel capacity with 27 bins, a basement working floor and cleaner rooms. The height of the building will be 124 feet, including the base-

[42]For example, between May 1947 and October 1951, Octave W. Ursenbach was Lethbridge Stake president, Francis C. Russell was first counselor, Reed C. Ellison was second counselor, and J. Owen Steed served as clerk. All except Russell were officers of Ellison Milling.

[43]Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Minutes, 28 February 1921: "The Manager said he had been asked by the Methodist Church for a donation of $1,000 to help pay for the new Pipe Organ recently installed in the Church at Lethbridge. All the Directors present felt this amount was too much, but inasmuch as the Church had been used during the War for Patriotic Meetings, and was still being used for large public gatherings and that during the epidemic of the Flu the large hall had been converted into a temporary hospital we should be willing to do something towards it and on motion of George W. Green which was seconded by L. D. King and carried by vote of the meeting it was decided to give them $250."

[44]Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Minutes, 27 December 1923 and 8 April 1924 record discussions, but not when final decisions were made.

[45]Ibid., 16 September 1929.

> ment, and will be a splendid addition to the city's expanding industrial area. Twenty cars can be placed at one time on the additional 1,000 feet of C.P.R. trackage, and double tracks may be added later.
>
> Ellison products have been shipped to all parts of the West and its export connections reach from Glasgow to Hong Kong. Its staff numbers up to 60 in peak seasons of the year, and its annual payroll reaches $90,000.[46]

The Great Depression imposed restrictions on expansion and diversification, although a laboratory for quality control was constructed and equipped in 1930. In 1931, a poor crop resulted in large delinquencies among accounts receivable; the company issued debentures and pledged them to the Bank of Montreal as collateral for a $250,000 loan.[47] As banks pressed the company to collect overdue accounts, it was forced to foreclose on its mortgages with two bakeries in Vancouver, B.C., that it supplied with flour: Women's Bakery and the London Bakery. The London Bakery, which made house-to-house bread deliveries in Vancouver with seventeen horse-drawn wagons, owed Ellison Milling more than $32,000. The mill's operating schedule was reduced by half and wages were lowered, and, in 1933, reduced even further as the company attempted to survive.[48]

In August 1933, Reed C. Ellison, grandson of E. P. and son of Morris, arrived in Lethbridge.[49] This was the first time a member of the Ellison family had been employed to reside in Canada permanently and represent the Ellison interests.[50] Reed spent a few months in Lethbridge familiarizing himself with the business and then moved with his wife, Eva, to Vancouver, where he tried to salvage

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[46]"New Elevator Will Assist Grain Movement," *Lethbridge Herald,* 26 December 1929.

[47]Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, Minutes, 4 May 1931, 14 September 1931.

[48]Ibid., 12 April, 19 October, 3 December, and 16 December 1932, and 18 January and 6 April 1933. The minutes record discussions about the Vancouver bakeries through 4 January 1935.

[49]For a biography of Reed C. Ellison, see Palmer and Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture," 250-52.

[50]Unless otherwise noted, the history from this point is based on interviews I conducted with Reed C. Ellison and Eva R. Ellison, and on Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 15-30.

the indebted bakeries. He was able to keep the London Bakery from bankruptcy and eventually sold it to Safeway Stores, but there is no record of the fate of Women's Bakery.

On Ellison's eighty-fifth birthday, Apostle George Albert Smith wrote this tribute to him: "Ephraim P. Ellison . . . has been an inspiration to me since I was a boy. His sterling character, his honesty, industry and wisdom have been an example to all. He has been an honor to the Church and to the State and Nation." [51] On 20 October 1939, E. P. Ellison died at age ninety at his Layton, Utah, home.

Following his father's death, Morris H. Ellison added the title of president to that of general manager. He brought Reed back to Lethbridge in 1940 where, in 1946, Reed took over as managing director. With the onset of World War II, the Canadian government asked the company to make a war loan of $5,000—substantially more than the $400 donation it had made to the Patriotic Fund in World War I. The Foreign Exchange Control Board limited dividends; shipping hazards curtailed overseas exports. Ellison Milling built temporary annexes at elevators to store grain.

But the war also triggered a significant scientific advance. Due to increased consumer awareness of nutrition, prompted partly by a British study which found that white flour was deficient in Vitamin B and was a cause of poor vision in pilots, Reed developed a milling process which retained the wheat germ. In Ottawa, he met the head of the Dominion Agricultural Research Station and members of the Canadian Medical Association who endorsed Ellison's natural Vitamin-B flour. The *Lethbridge Herald* editorialized in December 1942: "The Ellison Milling and Elevator Company was the first Canadian mill to respond to the program for Canada Approved white flour. Large quantities have been sold to the British Ministry of Foods, making its way to England and Scotland and some to Allied posts, such as Egypt."[52]

Following the war, the three stakes in Alberta donated wheat

[51]Holograph inscription by George Albert Smith, 10 June 1935, in a copy of B. H. Roberts's, *Joseph Smith: The Prophet-Teacher,* in my possession. Smith presented it to E. P. for E. P.'s eighty-fifth birthday.

[52]Quoted in Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence, 22.

and labor and Ellison Milling Company facilities cracked wheat, furnished bags, and contributed the time of its millers to load three carloads for shipment to impoverished German Saints. Letters and visits from Church leaders and Saints expressed heartfelt gratitude for this gift which had literally saved them from starvation.[53]

At the company's inception, E. P. Ellison had established a policy that employees would receive time off with pay to fulfill Church assignments. (This policy was extended to employees of other religious affiliations as well.) When Octave W. Ursenbach, a life-long employee and a company director, was called to preside over the Canadian Mission in 1943, he was kept on the payroll during his entire mission.[54] Concerned about the need for his skills at the company as business increased after the war, Morris asked David O. McKay, then a counselor in the First Presidency, when Ursenbach might be released. McKay responded warmly:

> Dear Brother:
>
> In your letter of July 8, 1947, you make inquiry as to the probable time of release of Elder Octave W. Ursenbach, President of the Canadian Mission. You state that you have held his place open now for about 3 years, and that because of the pressure of business, which throws extra work upon members of your company, it will be a convenience for you to know how soon you may count on President Ursenbach's help.
>
> I think you will be safe in counting on his return within thirty days. If you need his help earlier, we shall do what we can to relieve him before that date.
>
> I shall be pleased to see you here in the office when next you come to Salt Lake City.[55]

With the end of World War II, Ellison Milling began extensive building and modernization. By 1955, the mill had been completely renovated with new machinery from England, which increased

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[53]See Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, "Friends Again: Canadian Grain and the German Saints," this issue.

[54] Lethbridge Stake Committee, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada,* 151.

[55]Holograph letter dated 14 July 1947 in my possession. Ursenbach was called as Lethbridge Stake president upon his return. He also served as Alberta Temple president from 1 June 1956 to 4 August 1968. See Octave W. Ursenbach, Oral History, in possession of Marilyn Ursenbach Krammer.

production capacity to 1500 barrels per 24 hours. Ten new concrete elevators were added.

Ellison Milling continued the tradition begun by E. P. of pioneering the planting of new grains. Reed encouraged farmers to raise Durum wheat which is especially suited for pasta flour. As a result, Catelli's, a large firm headquartered in Quebec, built a plant in Lethbridge near the mill to receive this exclusively ground flour for their pasta products.

The *Lethbridge Herald* reported in January 1952, on the success of another Ellison Milling-fostered project. The headline proclaimed, "Lethbridge Becomes the World's Leading Centre for Distribution of Commercial Mustard Seed—12,500,000 Pounds Produced from 34,000 Acres in Southern Alberta." The article noted that "Ellison's contracted [for], cleaned in their new plant, and marketed most of this mustard seed which was shipped to Eastern Canada, United States and to European countries."[56]

Pastry flour was also in demand and, while Alberta Hard Spring Wheat produced fine bread, it was too heavy for cakes and pastry. The company had to purchase Soft White Spring Wheat in Ontario and Australia to mill pastry flour. The company had tried as early as 1925 to culture Soft White Spring Wheat in Alberta but without success. Reed imported pedigreed seed from Idaho and Manitoba in the 1940s and extended credit to farmers to grow this irrigated crop.[57] An added incentive was that, like mustard seed, it was not subject to the Canadian Wheat Board and was therefore ready cash when delivered to the mill. Soft White Wheat has since become a major crop on tens of thousands of irrigable acres in southern Alberta. In 1984 Reed was honored with a life membership in the Soft Wheat Association. In 1992, Agriculture Canada named a new registered variety of improved Soft White Spring Wheat, "AC REED" posthumously in his honor.

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[56]"Lethbridge Becomes the World's Leading Centre for Distribution of Commercial Mustard Seed," *Lethbridge Herald*, January 1952; as quoted in Ellison, "The Ellison Companies and Influence," 251.

[57]Palmer and Palmer, "Mormons in Western Canadian Agriculture," 251. "During the first years of trial . . . if the farmer's crop did not do well, the company did not invoice them for the seed."

The company also found markets for the sale of certified seed wheat (again not subject to the control of the Canadian Wheat Board). Many traincar loads were cleaned, bagged, and shipped from the Lethbridge mill to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait during the late 1950s and 1960s.

On 11 May 1970, Morris Ellison died, age eighty-eight, at his Layton home. He had served the company in various capacities since 1905. Declining profit margins due to government regulation and competition from larger Eastern mills led to consideration that company assets could be put to better use for return on capital invested. Reed pondered several alternatives over the next five years. On 1 August 1975, the directors and shareholders agreed with Reed's decision to sell the flour and feed mills at Lethbridge and the eighteen country grain elevators in southern Alberta to Parrish & Heimbecker, Ltd., of Winnipeg. The elevator system soon bore the P&H insignia, but the flour mill continued to operate as the Ellison Milling Company, Ltd., at P&H's request, due to the goodwill built up over the years for Ellison's products. Reed Ellison died on 11 January 1991, at age eighty-one.

Even divested of its wheat and milling facilities, the company continues today, as Ellison Enterprises, Ltd. Headquartered in Lethbridge and managed by Lynne Ellison Sherwood, its assets are invested mainly in Canadian stocks and operating companies.

From the humble 150-barrel mill of the Raymond Milling Company in 1902 and the first acres of wheat planted by Elijah Laycock, the vision of Ephraim Peter Ellison now encompasses an annual Alberta wheat cultivation of 6,180,000 acres, with production of 210 million bushels processed into many varieties of flours by a huge milling industry and shipped and consumed worldwide.[58] While Ellison Milling and Elevator Company no longer exists as an independent participant in the agribusiness industry Ellison started, it truly was the catalyst for the southern Alberta wheat industry.

[58]Statistics *Canada, Catalog 22-002,* Vol. 72, No. 1, Canadian Wheat Board, Winnipeg Library.

Friends Again: Canadian Grain and the German Saints

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

GERMAN-SPEAKING LATTER-DAY saints Wella and Guido Fuchs and their two small children, three-year-old Reinhard and three-month-old Armin, left a war-ravaged and divided Germany for Canada in October 1953.[1]

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[1]Unless otherwise noted, information about the Fuchs family story is based on Wella Schaarschmidt Fuchs, Oral History, interviewed 8-9 March 1992, 30 September 1995, and 20-21 August 1996 by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. Unless otherwise noted, all oral histories cited in this article are in Holzapfel's possession. Wella Fuchs, a second-generation Latter-day Saint, was baptized at age ten on 2 July

The Fuchs family were members of the Annaberg-Buchholz Branch, situated in the Erzgebirge area near the Czechoslovakia frontier. Since the end of World War II, it had been part of the Russian zone of occupation in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Their long journey began when they took a train to East Berlin in February 1953; and from the very beginning, it was fraught with danger. Because they were officially forbidden to travel to Berlin, they decided that the only way to begin a new life was the risky and dangerous way of entering East Berlin illegally, then escaping into West Berlin.[2]

To conceal their plans, the Fuchs told neighbors, friends, and relatives that they were going to a wedding and would return home in a few days. They left with only a few personal items in a small suitcase to avoid suspicion. Aboard the train bound for Berlin, they sat in a compartment with several other people, including the wife of an East German police commissioner. Wella was nervous the entire trip, worried the woman would discover their intentions and turn them in to East German authorities. When East German police began checking passengers in each compartment as the train approached Berlin for authorized travel permits, Wella became more fearful.

Surprisingly, the commissioner's wife told the guards they did not need to check the compartment, so the officers moved on without questioning anyone, including the Fuchs family. When the train finally arrived in Berlin, the commissioner's wife smiled and said quietly to Wella Fuchs: "I know where you are going. Good luck!"

In East Berlin, the family got on the local S-bahn—the subway—

1932. Guido Fuchs was baptized 8 February 1946. Wella and Guido were married 8 April 1950.

[2]Berlin was the capital of Germany until the end of the war in 1945, when its division into separate Eastern-(Soviet) and Western-(British, French, and American) occupied sectors mirrored the Allies' division of the country itself into different zones of occupation. The Western powers supported the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, in 1949, and the USSR sponsored the creation of the GDR, or East Germany—consisting of the easternmost third of Germany, including the city of Berlin. The western half of Berlin, despite its physical separation from West Germany, became a part of the Federal Republic.

Wella and Guido Fuchs on their wedding day, 8 April 1950, Geyersdorf, Dermany. Courtesy Wella Fuchs, Salt Lake City.

to make the last leg of the journey to freedom. At a western sector stop, they stepped off the subway with few possessions but with large hopes of a better life. They were among the nearly five thousand people arriving daily in West Berlin as refugees.[3]

Following the creation of the GDR in 1949, life in East Germany was morally, intellectually, and economically unacceptable to an ever-increasing portion of the population.[4] "Occupation socialism," as it came to be known, was part of the socialist revolution ordered by the Soviet occupation authorities, not as a consequence of any popular upheaval. Additional economic burdens included the

[3]From 1961 to 1989, East and West Berlin were physically separated from each other by the Berlin Wall, erected by the East German government to prevent unauthorized movements between the two parts of the city, especially the flow of East Germans to the West. Previous to this time anyone who was able to enter East Berlin without interference from GDR officers could cross into West Berlin basically unhindered.

[4]For conditions in the GDR, see Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., *Germany from Partition to Reunification* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 47-81.

Three-year-old Reinhard Fuchs preparing to leave the refugee headquarters in West Berlin, October 1953. Courtesy Wella Fuchs, Salt Lake City, Utah.

continued exaction of heavy reparation payments through 1953 by the USSR, resulting in a continued depressed standard of living for most East Germans.

Food availability continued to be a chronic problem arising from the expansion of collective farming. Farmers abandoning their lands and fleeing to the West rather than submitting to collectivization added to this problem.

Repression of workers and farmers increased in 1952 and 1953 as GDR political leaders attempted to accelerate the socialization of all facets of German life. For the Fuchs, like many other East Germans, the erosion of personal and religious freedom in the GDR was a major concern. Although the constitution contained extensive guarantees of religious freedom, in practice, the regime harassed the churches in countless ways, banning the customary religious instruction from primary schools and imprisoning clergymen who criticized official policies. At the same time, the regime provoked criticism by seeking to indoctrinate children with atheism at school and through the sole officially approved youth organization, the Free German Youth.

Children whose parents were classified by the regime as non-supporters were discriminated against by the admissions policies of the state-run universities and other institutions of higher education. Those who sought to flee to the West made themselves vulnerable to prosecution in the GDR, despite the constitutionally guaranteed right of emigration. The regime charged them with "flight from the Republic," a crime punishable by lengthy imprisonment. For the Fuchs family, the decision to flee East Germany became final when they learned, shortly after their arrival in West Berlin, that the Soviets had suppressed an uprising on 17 June against the East German regime.

As more East Germans sought refuge in West Berlin, jobs became increasingly hard to find; housing was at a premium. Many people remained in the western sector without exit visas. The harsh realities of life in the large city were almost overwhelming to most of those seeking sanctuary. After several months, the Fuchs family was offered a permanent apartment; instead, they made the difficult decision to turn down the offer and apply for an exit visa for Canada—a prize that few were able to obtain. A prerequisite was sufficient funds for their travel.

A year earlier, a member of the Fuchs family's branch had confided to Guido that he was fleeing to freedom and planning to go to North America. Guido begged this brother to remember Guido and his family after the escape. This friend reached Canada and asked members of his local priesthood quorum to help the Fuchs family. Weldon Kearney, who had just received his military severance pay from the Canadian Army, said he would be glad to help. The 550 Canadian dollars was a loan that Guido promised to repay once he was established in a new home in western Canada.

With sufficient funds promised, Guido went to the government office to fill out the necessary paperwork. His application was rejected because Western countries wanted only skilled laborers and professionally trained people and he had identified himself as a farmer, the only occupation most people had in the Annaberg-Buchholz area following the war. However, as he left the building, Guido felt prompted to return to the building and go to a different room. There, he told the officials he wanted to go to Canada and gave his profession as electrical mechanic, a trade he knew but had not practiced for some time.

The official stamped the papers, and the visa was granted. The Fuchs flew to Hamburg, took the train to Bremerhaven, and, two weeks later, boarded the *Arosa Kulm,* the ship that would take them to Canada. Though excited about the door that had just been opened before them, the family endured a difficult crossing. Guido was assigned to one compartment, while Wella and the children were in another. Their few belongings were placed in a suitcase and locked into a storage area. For the entire nine-day crossing in October 1953, the family members were forced to wear the same clothing. In addition, everyone but Guido was seasick nearly the entire time.

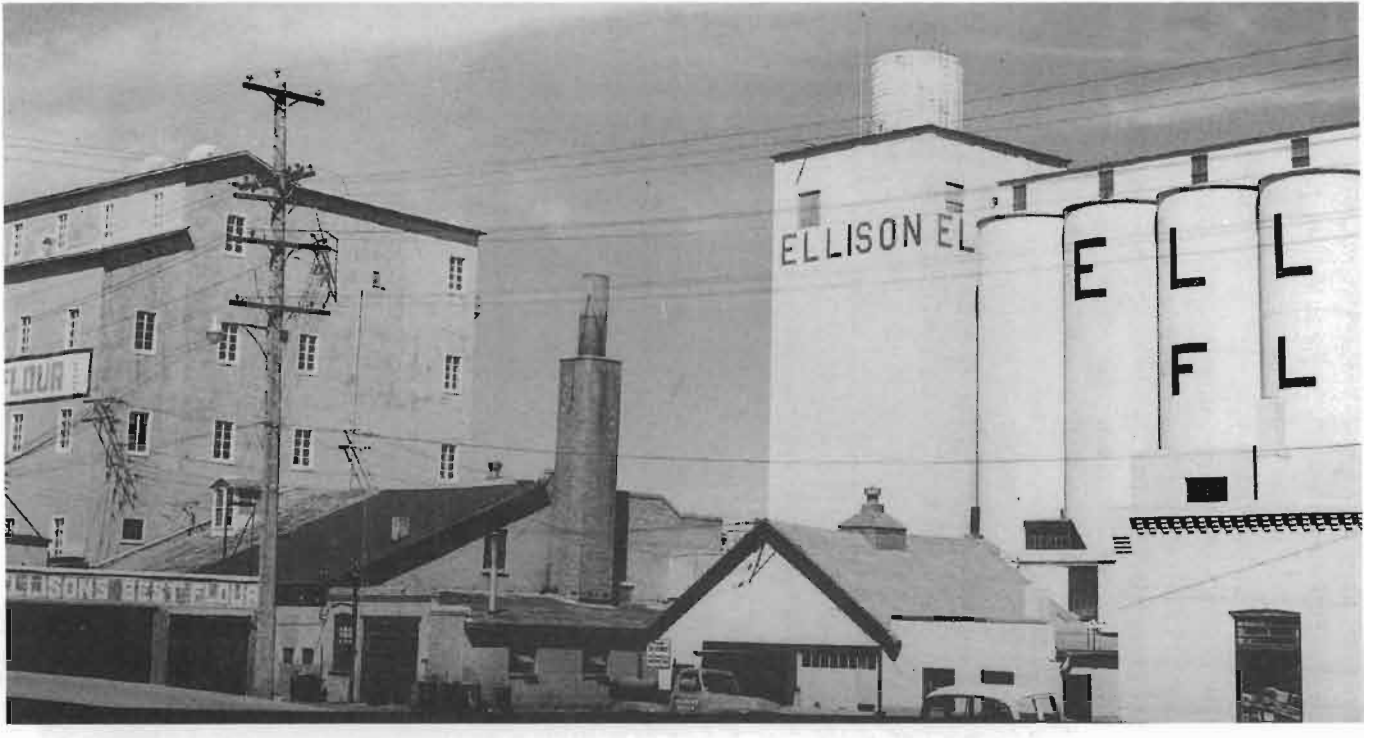
They finally landed in Quebec, but the Fuchs children, ill with pneumonia, were hospitalized. Concerned that a father might abandon his family in such situations, officials jailed Guido. After ten days, the family left the hospital and spent their last remaining money on train tickets to western Canada. They were virtually at the end of their emotional and physical resources. Wella recalls:

> We had been so long crossing the ocean, then transferring to and changing trains, as we crossed Canada, that we were exhausted. Our financial situation was so bad, we sat up on the coaches all the way and ate very little. I became discouraged and wished that we had never left [West Berlin]. Then as the train slowed down for the stop in Lethbridge, I looked out the window and saw several large grain tanks with the letters *Ellison* on them.

Wella's doubts evaporated. Even though the Fuchs were not proficient in English, the parents recognized that this name was the same as that printed on bags of cracked wheat the family had received in Germany in 1948. Sent in small packages from Canadian Mormons to the German Saints, twenty-five pounds of the precious grain had kept Wella and her family from starving to death during the critical post-war period. The grain-storage tanks were part of the Ellison Mill and Elevator Company, managed by Reed C. Ellison, grandson of the founder, E. P. Ellison.

With renewed hope and optimism, Wella "thought how much the wheat had helped us. Surely, the kind people who sent the wheat would be helpful and friendly to us now in this time of need."

Sure enough, when the family got off the train, local members helped them move into a small home and helped them find work.



Seeing the familiar Ellison name on the grain elevators gave new hope to the exhausted Fuchs family. Courtesy of Eva Ellison, Lethbridge, Alberta.

The Fuchs family began a new life in Canada as part of the LDS community there.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CANADIAN AID TO GERMANY

Staving off starvation among the helpless civilian survivors of a defeated nation is only part of the story of the Mormon wheat from Canada. For Latter-day Saints living in North America at the time, providing the wheat was a learning experience. Douglas Tobler, a colleague in the Mormon History Association, notes: "I grew up on a small farm in Idaho. A whole generation learned the value of the Church's Welfare Plan, and we learned to be thrifty, using the Germans as an example."[5] Many Latter-day Saints, like Tobler, learned these two lessons through Elder Ezra Taft Benson's stories of his visit to Germany in 1946.

In reality, the LDS Church's welfare efforts during the Great Depression had minimal effect upon Mormons living in the western region of North America. In the United States, for example, the vast majority of Latter-day Saints in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona received a significantly larger portion of help from the federal government than they did from the Church.[6]

However, the steady, focused concentration on welfare commodities, land in production, and construction of storage facilities meant that the Church could respond quickly at the war's end to its serious economic dislocations. The large amounts of aid sent primarily to Europe from late 1945 to 1950 exhibited the strength of the Welfare Plan and communicated the concern of the Church for its needy in Europe. The Church would have been unable to deliver such help before the inauguration of the Welfare Plan of 1936.[7]

Surely the German Saints felt that the welfare supplies, including the Canadian wheat, was literally a God-send. The wheat, nevertheless, had an additional message. Before World War II, most Germans recognized only two churches: the Catholic Church and

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[5]Douglas Tobler, Oral History, interviewed 30 September 1995 by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel.

[6]Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place. The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1995), 308-35.

[7]Garth Mangum and Bruce Blumell, *The Mormons' War on Poverty: A History of LDS Welfare, 1830-1990* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 151.

the Lutheran Evangelical Church. Other religious denominations, like the Latter-day Saint movement, were considered a *sekte,* a sect—not a real church. The term *sect* has a more pejorative sense in German than English.[8] Thus, in German locales like Annaberg-Buchholz, welfare shipments from North America raised the respect of nonmember relatives, neighbors, and friends for Mormons and for Mormonism. The fact that the aid was also distributed to nonmembers made the Church's name known with respect and gratitude. Germany Latter-day Saints felt bonded with North American Saints through the welfare help they received, doing much to heal rifts caused by their respective nationalities and recent hostilities. The Mormons in western Canada, for their part, saw an opportunity to extend themselves to help suffering Saints in Germany and extended themselves in loving Christian service, bonding in return with them.

These psychological aspects played a significant role in allowing members of the LDS Church in Germany to feel a kinship with the North American LDS Church, especially after years of separation from Church headquarters caused by the war.

Ezra Taft Benson's European Mission

The story of the Canadian wheat and the German Saints had actually begun several years earlier when Elder Ezra Taft Benson of the Quorum of the Twelve was appointed by the Church's new president, George Albert Smith, in December 1945 to begin administering spiritual and temporal succor to members in war-torn Europe.[9] The forty-six-year-old, robust young apostle reached England in February and, accompanied by Frederick Babbel, European Mission secretary, began a tour of Europe to assess the situation, direct the distribution of much-needed welfare supplies, contact members, and begin to reorganize missionary work.

On 10 March 1946, Benson noted in his journal, "This day will stand out in my memory for years to come. It is my first day in the occupied areas of Germany." Although the countryside between

[8]Tobler, Oral History.

[9]Ezra Taft Benson, *A Labor of Love: The 1946 European Mission of Ezra Taft Benson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989).

Switzerland and Germany was beautiful, his heart sank as he "drove through towns and cities leveled to the ground as a result of war."[10]

In Karlsruhe, Benson held his first meeting with the Mormon Saints in Germany amid bombed-out buildings. It was the first time they had seen a General Authority in at least five years, and he shook hands with everyone who attended at the end of the meeting. "Many of our Saints have sustained great losses," Benson wrote somberly as the enormity of their needs became apparent. "Many are without adequate shelter, clothing, or food. . . . The strain of inadequate housing, food, and clothing is beginning to tell on our people."[11]

GERMANY'S STATUS FOLLOWING THE WAR

The Nazi dictatorship, which had launched a war that brought unspeakable human suffering and destruction for the peoples of Europe, ended by bringing the catastrophe home to the German people. Although World War I was fought almost exclusively outside German borders, the second great conflict put Germans squarely in the path of the horrors of modern, industrialized war. In the course of Allied bombing raids, millions of tons of explosives rained down on German factories and cities. During the final stages of the war, large parts of the country became bloody battlefields. The full extent of the human costs can never be calculated with precision, but estimates of the German war dead—military and civilian—run as high as 6.5 million. One million German soldiers were prisoners of war in Russia. Many never returned. Another million soldiers were permanently disabled from their injuries. Civilian health was also severely undermined by the war. At the conclusion of the conflict, Germany was utterly devastated—its major cities had been reduced to heaps of smoking rubble. An estimated 3.5 million homes had been completely destroyed. Another 30 percent were severely damaged.[12]

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[10]Ibid., 39-40.

[11]European Mission Historical Record, 10 March 1946, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

[12]The information on postwar Germany is found in Volker R. Berghahn, *Modern Germany: Society, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 177-225; William Carr, *A History of Germany,*

William Shirer, American foreign correspondent, recorded his shock in Nuremberg--a city he had enjoyed before the war: "It is gone! The lovely medieval town behind the moat is utterly destroyed. It is a vast heap of rubble, beyond description, and beyond hope of rebuilding. As the prosaic U.S. army puts it, Nuremberg is '91 percent dead.' The old town, I should say, the old Nuremberg of Durer and Hans Sachs and the Meistersingers, is 99 percent 'dead.'"[13]

City dwellers throughout Germany sought shelter in damp cellars, windowless air-raid bunkers, and garden sheds. Even in summer, these make-shift residences would have been unhealthy; but winter was coming, and, as an Allied military report, spelled out, fuel was a crisis. "Unless drastic steps are taken," one report predicted, "there will occur in Northwest Europe and the Mediterranean next winter a coal famine of such severity as to destroy all semblance of law and order, and thus delay any chance of reasonable security."[14] The defeated Germans were dependent upon coal for heating, electricity, running water, food processing, and railways. Yet the discovery of the concentration camps generated such outrage that the report recommended that German coal should be confiscated for use elsewhere in Europe "without any regard for the consequences to Germany."[15]

To make matters worse for the German people, some of the victors began to dismantle plants within their own zones and take goods from current productions as war reparations. In Berlin, the Russians had dismantled and hauled away 95 percent of the city's industrial machinery before the Western Allies reached the city. Brigadier Frank Howley, commanding the first detachment of American military government to enter Berlin in July 1945, reported: "They had dismantled the refrigeration plant at the abattoir,

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1815-1990 (New York: Edward Arnold, 1991), 366-92; and Alan Kramer, *The West German Economy, 1945-1955* (New York: Berg, 1991).

[13]William L. Shirer, *End of a Berlin Diary* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1950), 287-88.

[14]Potter-Hyndley Mission Report, as quoted in Douglas Botting, *From the Ruins of the Reich: Germany 1945-1949* (New York: Crown Publishing, Inc., 1985), 121-22.

[15]Ibid.

torn stoves and pipes out of restaurant kitchens, stripped machinery from mills and factories and were completing the theft of the American Singer Sewing Machine plant when we arrived."[16] What the Russians did not take was either buried under the rubble or rendered useless by the lack of coal and electricity to power it.

German communications and transportation networks were totally disrupted, and the governmental administrative apparatus from national to local levels had ceased to exist. The occupying armies were in total control of the German people.

It was, as the Germans themselves called it, *die Stunde Null,* or hour zero—the moment of hiatus when the people of a nation that had ceased to exist touched rock bottom, when the hands of the stopwatch were reset to zero and began to tick toward an unthinkable future. Hitler had declared: "Give me five years and you will not recognize Germany again."[17] Now the survivors chalked their derision on the walls of the ruined cities: *Das berdanken wir Hitler,* "for this we thank Hitler."[18]

For the German people, already dazed by the ordeal of total war, the period of greatest misery came during the grueling years between 1945 to 1948. Dorothea Speth Condie, a child living with her parents in Dresden during the war, recalled: "During World War II we always had enough to eat and we still had enough of a variety of things to eat. Things were rationed, but we still had enough sugar, we still could buy some chocolate, we still had meat at least for Sundays or once during the week. We always had enough bread and we always had enough potatoes. I never remember being hungry. But after the war . . . there just wasn't enough to eat. I can remember going to bed hungry at night. When you got up from the table you never really felt like you had had enough to eat."[19]

Besides the food shortage following the war were the political realities of partition. The country was divided into four zones of

[16]Frank Howley, *Berlin Command* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1950), 44-45.

[17]As quoted in Botting, *From the Ruins of the Reich,* 123.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Dorothea Speth Condie, Oral History, interviewed May 1990 by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

occupation (United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France) according to an Allied agreement made at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. The German capital of Berlin, well inside the Soviet Zone, was initially divided into four occupied sectors, but eventually into Soviet-held East Berlin and Allied-held (basically, U.S.) West Berlin. In the territories east of the Oder and Neissee Rivers, i.e., East Prussia, Danzig, Upper Silesia (Schesian), and parts of Pomerania, millions of Germans and many Latter-day Saints were placed provisionally under the jurisdiction of Poland.

Between 12 and 14 million German refugees had clogged the roads leading westward ahead of the advancing Red Army. In 1939 the territories that would make up postwar Germany—East and West—had a population of under 59 million; but by 1946 over 64 million lived there, despite heavy wartime deaths and the absence of millions of prisoners of war. Furthermore, almost 9 million German civilians—primarily, women, children, and old people—had been evacuated into the countryside as the cities were bombarded. One measure of the massive social dislocation is the fact that in October 1946 nearly 10 million people were still searching for next of kin.

All of these factors increased the pressure for limited food supplies. The shortages were so severe that the average diet of Germans was dangerously close to the malnutrition level. When the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces in Europe took stock of food supplies in the Western Zones of Occupation (non-Soviet zones) at the end of May 1945, they estimated that the supplies could last no more than sixty days. One military governor set a ration of fifteen hundred calories per day; but by July, the average had slumped to between 950 and 1,150 calories. (Ironically, ex-Nazis in Allied internment camps were officially entitled to a relatively high daily ration of 2,200 calories.)

Complicating famine in Germany was the fact that all of Europe was suffering a calamitous food shortage. Throughout Europe, grain production was down by 70 percent and food in general by half. Serious famine would soon exist in parts of Russia and Rumania, thousands would starve to death in Greece, and even in Britain, bread would be rationed for the first time in the nation's history. With so many needs, the Germans came near the end of the queue. Understandably, the Allies were reluctant to take food from

their own depleted stocks to feed their vanquished enemy. The best the Allies could do was to try to keep the Germans alive, but even that was hard. Livestock dropped 35 percent after 1944. Germany had no fertilizers, seed was scarce, farm machinery was worn out, and labor was almost nonexistent. The foreign farm workers had left the country, and many of the Germans needed to replace them were either dead or were prisoners of war. The first postwar crops were sown late and did not look promising. U.S. General Lucius D. Clay summarized the situation in the western sectors:

> We had to have food. West Germany had never been self-supporting. Even Germany as a whole could not raise enough to sustain its people. Now their principal producing farmlands located in North, Central and Eastern Germany were much smaller because of the severed Eastern territory. Moreover the produce was not available to the Western zones. Yet the population of these zones had increased by about 4,000,000 and was to increase still more.[20]

By August 1945, the Allied leaders clearly understood that the German people would die of famine, complicated by cold, without enormous food imports.

Most Mormons fared no better than their compatriots. Before the war, the LDS Church had small but strong branches in German-speaking Europe. In 1933, 14,305 members resided in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. By 1939, nearly fourteen thousand Mormons lived in Germany alone.[21] By 1945, the number of German Saints had dropped to about twelve thousand. Almost every Church meeting hall was destroyed during the war.[22] At the end of the war, the Saints, by and large, were without adequate food, shelter, and clothing. Those who were refugees migrating west had faced the additional problem of being unwanted strangers in unfamiliar areas. Marianne Ortlieb, a refugee from Breslau in Silesia, remembers:

> We had so little to eat that I fainted in the street one day. We were

[20]Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1950), 27.

[21]Joseph M. Dixon, "Mormons in the Third Reich: 1933-1945," *Dialogue* 7 (Spring 1972): 71.

[22]Gilbert Scharffs, *Mormonism in Germany* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), 116.

> foreigners. "You don't belong here. Why don't you go back where you came from?" They were so hateful. If there was a garden where we could get something to eat or where lettuce or other vegetables were being sold, they were always sold out when it came our turn. We had had nothing. We had so little to eat that I was literally close to starvation.[23]

Another Mormon, Wilfriede Kießling, vividly remembered her heart-ache as a parent:

> Many people were cooking and eating coffee grounds [made from grains and referred to as *Malzkaffe*] with a little flour mixed in. Many of the children were not getting any supper. They were put to bed with just a cup of coffee. Conditions were terrible. We had never been so thin, that's for sure. The children would come in around two o'clock in the afternoon and say, "Mommy, I'm hungry." Well, what were we supposed to give our children to eat? We just had to say, "Go out and play; we don't have anything to eat." Oh, that hurt right down to the soul. But we couldn't help it; we couldn't help it. We didn't have anything."[24]

A young Canadian serviceman, stationed in Germany from September until December in 1945 and again during 1946, remembers borrowing a jeep and driving about twenty miles to meet with the Saints in the Deutsches Museum. "We met together for a Christmas day service," he recalled. "The service men saved all their candy rations. We got a hold of boxes and we filled them with candy for each child. The local branch president told the young children to keep it closed until you get home. We often visited church members in their home. We always took some food to them."[25]

The Beginning of LDS Welfare Assistance

Individual and small-group help from Allied servicemen was greatly augmented by Church members in former Nazi-occupied countries and in North America. Saints from other European countries forgave former enemies to show genuine humanitarian concern to their brothers and sisters in Germany. The Dutch Saints sent potatoes and herring to Germany in November 1947, and Belgian

[23]Marianne Ortlieb, Oral History, interviewed May 1990 by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

[24]Wilfriede Kießling, Oral History, interviewed May 1990 by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

[25]Wayne Ursenbach, Oral History, interviewed 7 March 1992, by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel.

Mormons also sent much of their American welfare supplies to German Saints.[26] Nevertheless, not everyone felt that the Germans deserved help; and given the food shortage throughout Europe, some argued that the Germans should be fed last. Even U.S. news correspondent William L. Shirer noted in his diary, "What stumps me, though, is that the Allies don't seem to give a damn about the liberated people, who are also cold and hungry, after having been deliberately starved (and frozen) by the German government for years. Shouldn't we help them first?"[27]

With other educators, Bertrand Russell founded "Save Europe." Many Anglican bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, joined in the effort. However, because of the food shortages in the British Isles, little could be done. Jessie Ballantyne raised the question in *Canadian Forum* magazine in its May 1946 issue: "Should we feed Germany?"[28] She argued that Canada should take the place of the "mother country" in feeding starving Germans in the British zone. Most Mormons in North American agreed with Ballantyne's arguments and conclusion. To them, the end of hostilities included the compassionate care.

When Benson returned to Switzerland on 12 March 1946, he immediately sought permission to send commodities to the suffering Saints in occupied Germany from the International Red Cross, Swiss Government officials, and Allied military authorities. On 14 March, he received permission to transport much-needed relief with help from the International Red Cross and left for Frankfurt the next day: He noted: "As we were nearing Heidelberg, we passed a large number of men, women, and children at the city dump grounds frantically searching through refuse and garbage being unloaded from army trucks. We learned that this scavenger process is being repeated in all parts of the country due to the destitute conditions of so many of the people."[29]

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[26]William G. Hartley, "War and Peace and Dutch Potatoes," *Ensign* 8(July 1979): 19-23.

[27]Shirer, *End of a Berlin Diary,* 219.

[28]Jessie Ballantyne, "Should We Feed Germany?" *Canadian Forum* 26 (May 1946): 32-34.

[29]European Mission Historical Record, 15 March 1946.

In Frankfurt, Benson met with General Joseph T. McNarney, the top general in the American forces at Frankfurt, seeking a way of retaining control over the distribution of goods from the Church. McNarney refused, so Benson explained the Church's welfare program. Immediately, "the spirit operated on [the] man," and McNarney authorized the Church to distribute goods to Mormons in occupied Germany through Church channels.[30]

Benson announced these glad tidings on Sunday, 17 March 1946, in a meeting with 237 "poorly clothed, ill fed, but faithful Saints" in Frankfurt's partly bombed-out university auditorium. Benson noted in his journal, "The Spirit of the Lord was present in power, and in the two-and-one-half-hour meeting we were all lifted far above the mundane things of the world." Benson shared a meager meal with the Saints; local Allied LDS servicemen provided most of the food.[31]

Two weeks later in April General Conference in Salt Lake City, Benson's letter was read, declaring that "nowhere in all the world do members live and sustain their leaders more whole-heartedly than here" and that "never were there more sincere expressions of gratitude" than in the meetings he held in Germany during the previous few weeks.[32]

Before Benson completed his ten-month mission and left Europe, he told a conference in the British Mission on 6 October 1946: "I have met Latter-day Saints in practically every important country in Europe, under the most unusual conditions. . . . in rags, huddled together, suffering with the cold, in bombed-out buildings, some of them in the last stages of starvation. I have been in their homes where they had no food, no furniture to speak of, none of the comforts of life, and yet they have been happy."[33]

Benson's efforts to locate and meet with members of the Church, to reestablish missionary programs, and to distribute much-needed aid among the European Saints from 29 January to 13

[30]Benson, *A Labor of Love,* 48-49.

[31]Ibid., 50.

[32]Ibid., 81.

[33]Ezra Taft Benson, "I'll Go Where You Want me To Go," *Church News,* 23 November 1946, 8.

December 1946 were nothing short of extraordinary. He had traveled just over thirty-two thousand miles by plane, just over fourteen thousand miles by car, nearly ten thousand miles by train, just over thirty-four hundred miles by jeep, bus, street cars, and station wagon, and nearly fifteen hundred miles by boat.[34]

Benson's replacement, Alma Sonne, an Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve, arrived in England on Saturday, 16 November 1946. The next day, both left for the continent. A few days later, after obstacles and red tape were overcome, they received permission to enter the occupied territories. In Frankfurt, Benson and Sonne met with all but one district president and listened to appallingly grim reports. Despite rationing that specified diets of a meagre fifteen hundred calories per day, most were able to obtain only four to five hundred.[35]

European Mission secretary Babbel recorded, "The expression on the people's faces was noticeably more haggard and worn than on previous visits. Many of the members seemed just skin and bones. Shaking their hand was almost like shaking hands with a skeleton."[36]

Benson and Sonne were seriously worried whether the German Saints could survive the forthcoming winter. U.S. military officials estimated that one week of near-zero weather might kill as many as 20 percent of the aged population, already weakened by the ravages of war and by lack of shelter, clothing, and food.

Their fears were not misplaced. From December 1946 to March 1947, the bitter cold was unrelenting. The suffering of the German people from cold and malnutrition was intense beyond anything they were prepared for, materially or psychologically. In Berlin, wolves were driven by hunger into the city's outlying woods, and signs were put up on the Berlin ring-road: "Beware of Wolves!" Two days after Christmas, a trainload of German refugees arriving from Poland at the frontier of the British zone contained sixteen corpses and fifty-seven cases of severe frostbite. The wagons con-

[34]Frederick W. Babbel, *On Wings of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972), 168.

[35]Ibid., 164-65.

[36]Ibid., 165-66.

tained no form of heating, even though the temperature was twenty degrees below zero.

More than fifty-five thousand in Berlin alone received treatment for frostbite. As food grew scarcer, rumors circulated of cannibalism and a market in human flesh. People in the large cities did not seriously doubt the possibility. According to *New Yorker* correspondent Joel Sayre, a blind man asked a young woman in West Berlin to deliver a letter to a bombed-out area. The woman agreed to help him; but glancing over her shoulder as she set off, she was startled to see him walking briskly along the road and dodging between traffic with his white stick tucked underneath his arm. Suspicious, she took the letter to a local police station. Officers sent to the address found a concealed cellar full of fresh meat—a black-market butcher shop. Upon closer inspection, the police discovered that the meat was human flesh. When they read the letter the man had given the young woman, they found on it a single, chilling sentence: "This is the last one I shall be sending you today."[37]

As the situation worsened, former U.S. President Herbert Hoover was sent by President Harry S. Truman to study the food situation in Europe in general. Hoover's report was dismal. He found the situation in Germany far worse than anywhere else in Europe, and he recommended immediate emergency shipments of foodstuffs. Army stocks of food were promptly allocated for the population in an effort to stave off mass starvation during this terrible winter.

THE 1947-48 PICTURE

Benson left England during this bitter winter on 11 December 1946. As spring approached, Sonne reported somberly at a mission presidents' meeting on 12 March 1947: "What few reserves the people had a year ago are now completely exhausted. This exceptionally severe winter has greatly aggravated their tragic condition. Germany is still not productive. Scarcity of available supplies and lack of distribution facilities have not been conducive to improving the situation. Clothing is almost wholly unobtainable; food continues to be rationed on a subsistence basis."[38]

[37]As cited in Botting, *From the Ruins of the Reich,* 147-48.

The *Church News* reported the visit of East German Mission President Walter Stover in April. About forty-nine branches with 5,513 members still existed in the Russian zone. One of his stops was the Fuchs's home town, Annaberg-Buchholz, in the Erzgebirge District, then the smallest in the East German Mission. Only three hundred Saints lived in the area, belonging to three branches (Annaberg-Buchholz, Schwarzenberg, and Wolfsgruen).

President Stover reported that the Saints arrived for their meetings with "empty stomachs, poorly shod and dressed."[39] He went to Berlin shortly thereafter to facilitate the release of welfare goods that had been held since September. Under his direction, some seventy-two tons of food and clothing were transported to the mission home and repackaged for distribution to members in the East German Mission, including the Saints in the Annaberg-Buchholz branch. Each member received "10 C.A.R.E. packages [and] . . . five packages from the Mission home."[40]

As spring slowly pried winter's grip away from Europe, the depth of the crisis became clearer. Everyone was at each other's throats because of the shortages, despite massive relief efforts. The British blamed the Americans, and the Germans blamed both the "British and American authorities for plotting organized starvation in the Reich." A *Newsweek* report summarized: "Reasons for the crisis are plentiful, but permanent remedies were not." It also quoted James R. Newman, American military governor of Hesse, who harshly warned strikers and hoarders that they were breaking the law, possibly risking a death sentence before a military tribunal. With some justification, Newman added: "Never before in all history has a conquering army set about to feed the people it conquered. . . . Think of all this before you indulge too freely in self-pity, and before you condemn or impede the only program which is generously offered to aid you."[41]

Everyone who had access to even a scrap of land planted

[38]European Mission Historical Record, 12 March 1947.

[39]"Pres. Stover Visits Russian Zone in Germany," *Church News,* 26 April 1947, 9.

[40]Ibid.

[41]"The Grumblers," *Newsweek* 29 (26 May 1947): 41.

gardens. During an LDS East German Mission conference held in July 1947, "the more fortunate saints, those from farms and semi-rural regions and those who have gardens, aided their less fortunate" Church brothers and sisters who gathered to attend the three-day conference in honor of the Centennial Pioneer Day celebration.[42]

Sharing food and emotional comfort helped the struggling Saints in the Russian zone. "Many were the tears shed as persons, presumed dead or in other countries, met and greeted each other, their friends and relatives after having been separated and incommunicado for so many years."[43]

For LDS members in Germany, the Church welfare system and collective sharing among members helped; but it became apparent that more was needed if the Saints were to survive another grueling winter. President Jean Wunderlich wrote, "The preoccupation of the German people can be expressed in the one word 'hunger.' For most this is a physical hunger that sends them scurrying out in all directions, constantly searching for some extra food" as snow began to blanket Germany for another winter.[44]

While visiting Canadian Mission President Octave W. Ursenbach in September 1947, Ezra Taft Benson told of the sad conditions he encountered in Europe during his special emergency mission, especially in Germany. One morning, as they sat at breakfast, Benson kept his head bowed following family prayer, then wiped tears from his eyes and said, "Sister Ursenbach, I feel so unworthy to partake of all this food. I keep remembering those starving Saints in Germany and it is almost painful for me to eat so much."

Jessie Ursenbach tried to encourage her guest to eat, but Benson protested: "How can I when that much food would feed an entire family?" Jessie and Gustave's young daughter sitting at the table that morning recalls, "Tears welled in his eyes. He didn't feel worthy when so many others were hungry."[45]

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[42]Francis R. Gasser, "5,000 Attend Centennial Conference in Germany," *Deseret News,* 30 August 1947, 9.

[43]Ibid.

[44]"Leaders See Bright Future in Many Lands," *Church News,* 20 December 1947, 8.

[45]Marilyn Ursenbach Krammer, Oral History, interviewed 10 March 1992 by

During the course of this visit, Benson and Ursenbach met with A. C. L. Adams, secretary to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, T. G. Hills, chief of the export permit division, Hills's boss, W. F. Bull, and H. H. Hannam, President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. The Canadian Wheat Board, which oversaw all wheat, oats, and barley grown in western Canada, had the authority to impose a charge of about forty-six cents per bushel on any grain exported without its direction. President Ursenbach recalled, "When Elder Benson stated the circumstances under which the wheat was to be shipped to the starving saints in Europe this charge was waived and we were supplied later in the day with permits for shipments of two carloads of wheat."[46]

Meanwhile, LDS Church designated the first Sunday in December 1947 as a fast day to aid the Saints in war-torn Europe. The First Presidency wrote to the Saints in North America:

> The hearts of all our people have gone out to the suffering peoples of Europe. We have sent to our Saints in Europe large quantities of food and clothing which have greatly relieved their distress. We are continuing to send to them from our Welfare supplies. . . . How much we send in the future will depend upon how fully the people cooperate in carrying out our Welfare program. But the time has come when we should make our due contribution toward helping to feed and clothe the millions who are still unrelieved in the countries of Europe where the ravages of war have caused such great woe, grief, and suffering.
>
> We exhort every man, woman, and child claiming membership in the Church to give cheerfully on the regular December Fast Day—one Fast Day out of the twelve regularly held during the year—as much as he can possibly spare from his own needs. And in judging his needs, let him remember how much more he has than have the European sufferers.[47]

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel.

[46]Octave C. Ursenbach, Personal History, Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison Collection, Lethbridge, Alberta Canada. Eva R. Ellison, before her death on 3 July 1993, generously provided material from the Ellison private papers for this study. This material is now in the possession of her daughter, Marjane Ellison Christofferson, and son-in-law, Gregory P. Christofferson; all references to Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison are in this same collection; Ezra Taft Benson, Letter to Reed C. Ellison, 25 September 1947, Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison Collection; photocopy in my possession; see also Benson, Diary, 17 September 1947, provided by Benson family.

[47]"December Fast Day to Aid Europeans," *Deseret News*, 29 November 1947.

About $210,000 was collected and then distributed to Europeans of all faiths by an agency not connected with the LDS Church.

The Canadian Service Project

Not content only with participating in the general fast, stake leaders in Lethbridge, Alberta, met in their November 1947 stake welfare meeting and planned another gift of food—three carloads of cracked wheat donated by LDS farmers in a three-stake area around Cardston and Milk River. It was shipped to Lethbridge for processing, where the Ellison Milling and Elevator Company donated the labor and machinery.[48] Jim Helwig, one of the millers, recalls: "The wheat was not processed in the flour mill, but a special cylinder was used on a grinder in Elevator 'A' where the wheat was cleaned and then just cracked, with nothing being lost in the process."[49] Then members from Alberta, Taylor, and Lethbridge Stakes packaged the wheat. These bags were then baled and loaded on the train.

There were three shipments, two in December and another in early 1945. For the first shipment, the wheat was sacked in five-, six-, or ten-pound paper bags printed with *ELLISON.* Wella Fuchs first saw the name on one of these paper sacks. For the second shipment, cloth bags were used to reduce rips during the repeated handlings and transfers. Another reason Ellison changed to cloth bags was because members in Germany used the material for bedding and underwear.[50] For the third shipment of wheat, Ellison Company ordered and paid for cloth bags printed with the name *Deseret.*

Many people, including non-Mormons, donated their time to package and load the wheat at Ellison's Mill. Interestingly, some participants were Canadian war veterans who had fought in Germany. A news report indicates that it "made no difference with them that it was destined for Germany. They were pleased to lend a hand."[51]

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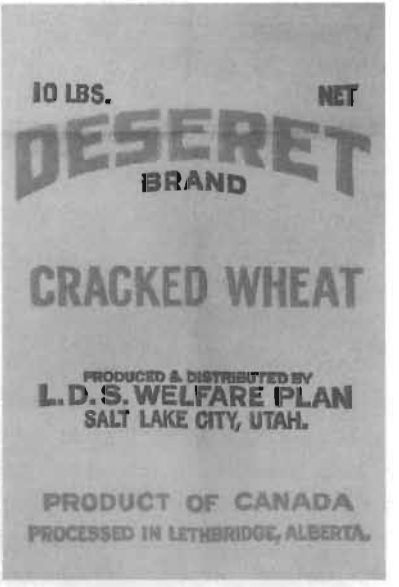
[48]Eva Ellison, Letter to Greg Christofferson, 10 October 1991; photocopy in my possession.

[49]Jim Helwig, Oral History, interviewed October 1991 by Eva R. Ellison; photocopy in my possession.

[50]Jean Wunderlich, Letter to Reed Ellison, n.d., Reed C., and Eva R. Ellison Collection; photocopy in my possession.

[51]C. Frank Stede, "Canadian Stakes Send Welfare Wheat to British Church

The first shipment of Canadian wheat was packaged in Ellison Flour Mill paper bags. Courtesy Eva Ellison, Lethbridge, Alberta.



In later shipments, the Ellison Flour Mill packaged the wheat in cloth bags. Courtesy Eva Ellison, Lethbridge, Alberta.

Youth who bagged the wheat as a service project shared the same attitude. According to Gerald Ursenbach, a son of Octave and Jessie:

> It was fun and we all enjoyed assisting–helping people that needed it. It did not matter that they had been our former enemies. One of the nice parts of the whole thing was occasionally we would write our names and addresses and put it into the bags. We occasionally received letters back. One I remember said that we had literally saved their lives. They were members of the Church and their nationality did not make any difference to us. Elder Benson came to tour the mission with the new mission president and Dad. He was there for at least one week, possibly more. He talked extensively about it.[52]

Members," *Church News*, 17 January 1948, 3.

[52]Gerald Ursenbach, Oral History, interviewed 7 March 1992, by Richard

The Canadian wheat was billed out from Lethbridge to West St. John, New Brunswick, and from there shipped to Antwerp, Belgium, and then to Geneva, Switzerland. The first two carloads of wheat were shipped on the *S.S. Mont Rolland* in December 1947.[53] As European Mission President, Alma Sonne oversaw the project and anticipated the delivery of one thousand bales of wheat to President Walter Stover in Berlin for distribution in the East German Mission and another thousand bales to President Jean Wunderlich in the West German Mission in early 1948.

One problem was caused by a shortage of railway cars. In prewar Germany, a shipment of goods by train from Hamburg to Frankfurt took eight hours. In 1947, a shipment could take as many as ten days to arrive.[54] Additionally, because the Swiss government would not allow Swiss cars "to leave Switzerland for Germany, . . . the supplies must wait until German cars are available."[55]

A second hurdle was the complicated permissions needed from the various levels of military and civilian governmental agencies in Germany. Wunderlich recalls:

> I wasn't prepared for the red tape that awaited me after the stuff was in Germany. . . . A semblance of some governmental functions had been transferred back to some Germans, and they were, naturally, always people who had a record for being anti-Nazi, which was alright [sic]. I don't complain about that. But for that reason, they did not always get the most experienced administrators. One of the things they kept saying was, "We don't want you to bring this stuff in here unless there is a general distribution of it to all the people in Germany."[56]

LDS Church leaders, for their part, pressured German officials to allow the Church to deliver the goods to Church members. Wunderlich reports:

> So, finally after several sessions back and forth I said to them, "The

Neitzel Holzapfel.

[53]Alma Sonne, Letter to Reed C. Ellison, 24 February 1948; Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison; photocopy in my possession.

[54]Jean Wunderlich Oral History, interviewed 1972 by James B. Allen, LDS Church Archives.

[55]Sonne, Letter to Ellison, 24 February 1948.

[56]Wunderlich, Oral History.

> Church members in Utah and other places have prepared these things with the understanding and also the expectation that they would be given largely, at least, to the suffering and needy members of our church in Germany. If it wasn't going preponderantly to the German Saints, the members in the U.S. would produce no more."[57]

Apparently, Wunderlich's firmness did the trick. However, to demonstrate the Church's goodwill, Wunderlich sent some of the cracked wheat to the university in Stuttgart for the student mess hall and to some local orphanages. In East Germany, Stover finally made a deal with governmental leaders that allowed the Saints to receive some of the wheat while "the government officers were good enough to accept a token portion of it."[58] Calling it a "token" portion was tactful. In some cases, the Saints in the eastern sector of Germany received only 40 percent of the items sent to them, while the bureaucrats skimmed off as much as 60 percent.[59]

Hans-Jürgen Schlüter, living in Dresden, remembers: "Of course only a small portion of what was sent into East Germany got to the members. Most of it was divided up among the communists and the Red Army. But we got some of it and even today my wife and I have fond memories of the gunny sacks. . . . And when we had wheat, we cooked the wheat in water until it turned to mush, and then we poured a little cream and some of the [canned] peaches over it. Oh, that still makes my mouth water. That was marvelous."[60]

A third problem was distributing the goods locally. Ilse Kaden, a local member, recalls:

> One day I went with my son Rainer from Waldheim to Dobeln [the branch headquarters, about eight kilometers away] because some welfare supplies had arrived from America. We got bags of wheat. . . . We loaded everything into this four-wheeled hand wagon and pushed it . . . back to Waldheim. . . . We covered the wagon, so that no one could see what we had. On the way back our Rainer kept saying, "Mommy, if the people knew what we had in this wagon!" We couldn't let them know, they would have taken much of it, they would have confiscated it.[61]

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[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Hans-Jürgen Schlüter, Oral History, interviewed May 1990, by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

The Fuchs, like many other contemporary members of the Church in Germany, walked long distances to attend their Sunday meetings. Wella recalls, "We walked an hour and fifteen minutes to church. Two times on Sunday. Our meeting was held in a factory. Every week a meal was served at the close of our meeting. A big wash tub full of cracked wheat."[62]

Günter Schulze of Dischofswerda recalls: "My mother was the Relief Society president, and since there was no priesthood holders around, the entire [welfare] shipment was stored in our tiny apartment. When we wanted to go into our bedroom we had to crawl over sacks of grain. That part was not so pleasant for me, but we were happy to have something to eat and happy that we could help out many other people with these things."[63]

The response of the Saints varied, but gratitude was uppermost. Wilfriede Kießling recalls that the large meeting hall was kept scrupulously clean during this period: "There were so many grateful sisters who were anxious to help because of the food or the clothing they had received. They just wanted to do some little thing to show their gratitude for what they had received."[64]

Still, Sonne reported on 19 April, "It is perhaps more true to say that we have prevented death and starvation among many of our members than to say that we have been able to prevent serious suffering."[65] Jean Wunderlich wrote Reed Ellison fervently, "Your gift of wheat has been a real and substantial help to the German saints."[66] Hans-Jürgen Schlüter recalls: "After 1945 I learned the magnitude of the work of the Church. The Church helped to save us."[67]

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[61]Ilse Kaden, Oral History, interviewed May 1990, by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

[62]Fuchs, Oral History.

[63]Günter Schulze Oral History, interviewed May 1990, by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

[64]Kießling, Oral History.

[65]Alma Sonne, Letter to Reed C. Ellison, 19 April 1947; Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison Collection.

[66]Wunderlich, Letter to Ellison, 8 April 1948.

[67]Schlüter Oral History, interviewed by.

Eva Flade was born to Alice and John Flade, also from the Annaburg-Buchholz Branch, in 1947. Alice was so undernourished that she had no milk for the baby, and their only food was "the cracked wheat which came from Canada through the welfare program of the Church. I boiled the wheat in water until it was like thin soup, then cut a large hole in the nipple of the bottle and fed it to my baby." Eva not only survived. She throve. During this period, the new civilian government in the East German sector sent a doctor to each village to check babies monthly. At one visit, Alice arrived late, and Eva was the last of over a hundred infants examined that day. The doctor asked what she was feeding her daughter. Mindful of the branch president's warning not to reveal the source of the wheat, she said, "I told him that I fed her whatever I could find. The doctor shook his head and said, 'This is the only healthy child I have seen today.'"[68] In Berlin in July 1945, the estimated infant morality rate was 96 percent. Within a year, it had dropped to 21 percent–still five and a half times higher than in Great Britain.[69]

A local missionary reported: "The other day we had 'Gruetze' for lunch in which, luckily that day, some dried fruits were cooked in. Every body ate heartily . . . but when the dinner was over we saw one of the young brethren sneaking over to the pot where the Gruetze had been cooked in and licking it clean."[70]

Although most recipients of Church welfare were devoted members, Kießling noted that, once the welfare shipments started to arrive, "our chapel was filled like it had never been before. If you came late, you had to stand up in the back; there was no more seats. . . . After the welfare shipments from America stopped coming several members dropped out. . . . It was very noticeable."[71] Those who remained faithful were, in general, philosophical about these "Büchsengeschwister, Büchsenmitglieder" (canned goods mem-

[68]Alice Flade, Oral History, interviewed 17 March 1992 by Eva R. Ellison; photocopy in my possession.

[69]As cited in *Canadian Forum*, 32.

[70]Jean Wunderlich, Letter to Reed C. Ellison, 8 April 1948; Reed C. and Eva R. Ellison Collection; photocopy in my possession.

[71]Kießling, Oral History.

bers). Joachim Albrect of Bautzen, for example, said kindly, "I don't blame them. I would have done the same. We stayed good friends."[72]

The Canadian wheat helped many German Saints, including the family of a Mormon history colleague, Klaus Hansen, to survive the difficult period following the war.

During 1948, the Church sent 25,876 cases of food and 542 tons of wheat to aid European Saints.[73] Welfare supplies and packages were shipped primarily from the United States and Canada to Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany. Limited shipments were also sent to LDS members in the Palestine-Syrian Mission.

THE CIRCLE COMPLETED

Since the end of World War II, Germany has made tremendous economic advances. Members of the LDS Church in Germany have shared in the new prosperity with their neighbors.

The LDS Church's German-language periodical, *Der Stern,* announced in 1953: "Big Success for Assistance to Holland." Just a few years following the life-sustaining help received from Mormons in North America and western Europe, the German Saints reciprocated by sending "hundreds" of packages and boxes to help Saints in flood-devastated areas of the Netherlands. Edwin Q. Cannon and Louella W. Cannon wrote, "Thanks to your kindness, dear sisters and brothers, the 'Holland Aid' was a success and an example of your Christ-like acts and charity."[74] During the Teton Dam disaster in Idaho in 1976, German Saints liberally donated fast-offering funds earmarked for the flood victims.[75] And now, more than fifty years after World War II, the German Saints send "care packages" to children in Romania and other former communist states in Eastern Europe, giving as they had received.[76]

Although welfare from North American Saints to those in

[72]Joachim Albrect, Oral History, interviewed May 1990, by Garold N. Davis; photocopy in my possession.

[73]European Mission Historical Record, 31 December 1948.

[74]"Grosser Erfolg Der Holland-Hilfe," *Der Stern* 79 (March 1953): 76.

[75]"Germans Aid Idahoans," *Church News,* 14 August 1976, 10.

[76]"Portraits," *Ensign* 22 (March 1992): 41.

Germany was easily worth the effort for its effect in saving lives, these projects had a broader psychological impact upon the Saints on both continents. Ezra Taft Benson's mission to Europe following the conclusion of the war sensitized him to the plight of the Latter-day Saints who lived in the ruins of the Reich while also allowing him to help North American Mormons become more compassionate for these distant co-believers. Benson helped many Latter-day Saints empathize with the German Saints' hardships and the hell of war by sharing his experiences repeatedly throughout the Church in North America.

Giving and receiving welfare help was an important way for the Latter-day Saint communities in North America and Germany to bond together after five years of war against each other. Members of the Fuchs family, for example, were not only "saved" from starvation but also were "saved" as members of the larger LDS community. They, like many of the Saints in Germany, came to know in a special way that the Mormons in North America cared about them. Receiving welfare help from their brothers and sisters in North America also reconfirmed and vindicated their reasons for joining a minority religion in Germany.

The critical need for many German Saints to believe they were not members of a despised sect but members of a much larger denomination helped them emotionally following the collapse of the Third Reich, especially between 1945 and 1950. While the Church was still not well known throughout Germany at this time, local nonmembers who were acquainted with their Mormon neighbors were impressed with the welfare help and demonstrated more respect for their neighbors' religious activity.

The welfare wheat also allowed German Saints to share with their nonmember neighbors, reinforcing their choice of membership with the LDS Church. When her neighbor's children were without bread, Ilse Kaden was grateful for the welfare aid because "whenever the children came to our apartment I gave them something to eat."[77]

For North American Mormons, this episode demonstrated the great value of the Welfare Plan of the LDS Church for the first time

[77]Kaden, Oral History.

in a large-scale, dramatic way. Altogether, total relief supplies sent to the Saints in Europe amounted to forty-one freight carloads of clothing and bedding and ninety-nine freight carloads of food. The value of the commodities was estimated to be approximately $1,232,000, plus $504,000 in transportation, insurance, and storage charges, for a total of $1,736,000.[78]

Certainly, both members and nonmembers of the LDS Church—former enemies, now friends again—in North America and in Europe have benefited economically, socially, psychologically, and spiritually from this giving and receiving in the late 1940s.

[78]Garth Mangum and Bruce Blumell, *The Mormons' War on Poverty: A History of LDS Welfare 1830-1990* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 152.

"The Grand, Fundamental Principle": Joseph Smith and the Virtue of Friendship

Steven Epperson

THOSE WHO IDENTIFY in their various ways with Mormon communities approach the words of Joseph Smith with a heightened sense of expectancy and gravity. To them, this nineteenth-century American religious figure speaks compellingly in ways unlike those of any other modern religious, cultural, or political leader. In addition, due to Smith's role in creating and guiding Mormonism's theological self-definition and the initial stages of its community building, historians of the American religious experience have begun to more seriously study his career. Therefore, when Joseph Smith stated in the summer of 1843 that he possessed "*the* grand fundamental principle," which would "revolution[ize] the world," both Mormon reader and religious historian are likely to sit up and take

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note. Yet what followed may perplex and disappoint. Smith, as reported in notes taken during one of his speeches, stated to the audience: "Let me be resurrected with the saints whether to heaven or hell or any other good place—good society a friend a true friend. & I will be a friend to him friendship is the grand fundamental principle of Mormonism, to revolution civilize the world."[1]

What could possibly be revolutionary in this particular mode of human relationship? Isn't friendship a personal, voluntary, and private bond? Is it not even, perhaps, too commonplace to occupy the Saints and their prophet? It is certainly the case that friendship has occupied relatively little space in the writings and concerns of Christian theology and modern philosophical and moral thought.[2] Indeed, were not the followers of Jesus chastised by their master when he asked, "If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?" (Matt. 5:46). Instead, they were commanded by him to love their enemies. Christ's apparent call for a non-preferential, universally benevolent love, has been one of the signal distinguishing features of certain historical Christian communities and a principal element in Christian moral theology up to this very day.

If friendship seemed out of place in Christian moral theology, it was a neglected child in the family of "liberal" political and economic philosophy which became dominant in the early decades in nineteenth-century America. Appeals by many American politicians and entrepreneurs in the Jacksonian era and beyond to categories like equality and liberty were predicated upon a view of human nature as driven essentially by competitive desires to carve out an autonomous space in which to realize individual potential and enjoy property. This viewpoint became widespread; it was a necessary precondition for the social revolution which took place in

[1]Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph Smith,* Religious Monograph Series, No. 6 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 234.

[2]See Stanley Hauerwas, *A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Christian Social Ethic* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 231; for its absence in modern inquiry, see Paul J. Wadell, *Friendship and the Moral Life* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 13-24.

the new American republic and contributed directly to the creation of a market-oriented economy.[3]

However, individual will-to-power had to be circumscribed or an anarchic state would be the result. The "social contract" myth provided an explanatory model sufficient to curb unlimited competitive and acquisitive desires: Individuals circumscribe their competitive reach, according to the contract model, by granting coercive powers to the state. What is important for the purposes of an examination of friendship is that in this view, as Martha Ellen Stortz observes: "The background for social and political life is competition and strife. . . . Human beings are not by nature social or political creatures. Not nature but necessity drives human community." The result is a public landscape where "the citizen's primary loyalty . . . is to the institutions of government which proffer protection and security from other citizens."[4]

Euro-American Christians became heirs to a moral theology which tended to enjoin universal rather than preferential love and to a political and economic philosophy calibrated to secure and protect competitive and acquisitive rights rather than promote the "common wealth." The effect of both has been to discourage the cultivation of the bonds of friendship, for friendship is a laborious and complicated task dependent upon the sharing of personal "wealth": time, talents, privacy, emotions, even property. Hours at the workplace, commitments to immediate family members and religious institutions consume time, both public and private, and physical and emotional energy; little or nothing is left for the cultivation of affective personal relationships with others. If these observations seem apt descriptions of a late twentieth-century landscape, they are even more appropriate in sketching out Joseph Smith's age. Marvin Meyers, in his classic study of politics and belief in the Jacksonian era, noted that contemporary (nineteenth-

[3]Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991). For impact on perceptions of masculinity see Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 13-42.

[4]Martha Ellen Stortz, "Beyond Justice: Friendship in the City," *Word & World* 14, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 410-11. This is essentially the view which informs "the declaration of belief regarding governments and laws in general," now canonized as Doctrine and Covenants 134. Oliver Cowdery is usually assumed to be its author.

century) witnesses, ranging from Harriet Martineau to Alexis de Toqueville, encountered a "devouring mobility," a "preoccupation with work," a "striving and driving onward," a "diseased anxiety" in the faces and actions of Americans.[5] They remarked how the seemingly endless and exacting demands of work, spurred on by an intense upward striving, corroded "domestic ties [and] the affections of home and hearth."[6]

Charles Dickens observed that vast energies devoted to business endeavors overwhelmed dinners, dances, and parties. Instead of detaching themselves from the routines of labor and the anxiety of calculation, even in these affective settings where playfulness and intimacy should have held sway, Americans could never be less than tense, severe, and serious: "Such deadly leaden people," he exclaimed, plodding about with a "weary insupportable heaviness." "In no country," wrote Thomas Nichols, another British observer of American culture "are the faces of the people furrowed with harder lines of care. . . . Work and worry eat out the hearts of the people, and they die before their time."[7] In such a grasping, careworn age, the creation and sustenance of strong friendships emerged as a minor but fascinating and poignant theme amid the major strains of American religious and intellectual life. On has to look no further than Emerson's essay on "Friendship," published among his enormously influential *Essays: First Series,* in 1841, and Thoreau's extended meditation on friendship in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), to gauge the importance this subject was accorded by some of Joseph Smith's thoughtful contemporaries.[8]

It is clear, however, from the numerous references to friendship and the concerted treatment it received in Joseph Smith's public and private statements and writings, that it was central, rather than

[5]Marvin Meyer, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Beliefs* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960), 122-127.

[6]Ibid., 122.

[7]Ibid., 123-27.

[8]Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays and Lectures* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 341-54; Henry David Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (New York: Library of America, 1985), 203-36.

peripheral, to his personal life, his public philosophy, and his deepest theological reflections. First, as an individual, Smith valued the enduring, affective bond of friendship as a sanctuary and refuge from the severe disappointments and uncertainties which hounded his short and turbulent life. Second, Smith recognized that friendship played a key role in the formation and sustenance of the religious and civic society he attempted to create. Finally, Smith recognized in friendship an abiding social relationship that was "celestial" and eternal in nature. Hence, friendships forged in this life would serve as an antidote to an anxiety-ridden career; they would promote strong civic life; and they would survive the barrier of death, thus enhancing the quality and felicity of this life and the life to come. The preservation of this affective bond became, therefore, for him a sacred imperative and figured prominently in the formulation and rationale of the covenantal ordinances that would be performed in the Mormon temple in Nauvoo.[9]

FRIENDSHIP AS SOLACE AND REFUGE

It is difficult to conceive of the privations, disappointments, and anxieties that afflicted Joseph Smith throughout his life. A cursory reading of his journals, correspondence, and sermons discloses a veritable catalog of woe. He suffered acutely from the betrayals of close associates; he felt the shame of being driven from home "time after time"; and he labored under the frequent scourge of debt and poverty. "We have waided through a scene of affliction and sorrow," was his frequent lament. On more than one occasion

[9]I am well aware that friendship is only one of many key terms in Smith's extraordinary theological and political lexicon. Isolating for study a single, linguistic construction from his considerable public achievement without recognizing its limited interpretive reach, can distort the re-creation of any person's life, let alone a career like Smith's. Friendship is not the only thing he had to say about finding solace in this world, building a community, or imaginatively construing the nature of a better life to come. However, he used the term frequently and with a degree of seriousness that begs examination. Until a compelling and exhaustive synthesis of Joseph Smith's thought and public life is written, there is a place for intensive examinations of his particular words and deeds which, cumulatively, will contribute to a complex and nuanced portrait of the man and his times. It is in that spirit, then, that I sat down to listen to what Joseph Smith had to say to his contemporaries about the need to establish and cultivate rich and abiding friendships.

he confided to his wife Emma, "I do not know where it will end," "I do not know where I shall go, or what I shall do."[10] Behind these personal afflictions loomed an apocalyptic scenario of the last days. Together with many of the American Christians, Smith and most Mormons believed in an imminent, dreadful "day of wrath" preceding the second coming of Christ that would sow desolation, weeping, perplexity, and mourning "upon all the face of the earth."[11]

Smith found solace from these afflictions in what he called "the society of my friends."[12] Wedding feasts, dinner parties, music, and dancing until dawn in the company of friends and valued acquaintances enliven the pages of his journals and correspondence. These records convey just how much he valued these social events and the friends with whom they were enjoyed.

Smith's diary entry of 13 December 1835 describes a wedding ceremony over which he officiated and how the solemnity of "matrimonial covenant" was followed by "a sumptuous feast." The table was laid out "and the company were invited to seat themselves at the table by pairs, male and female, commencing with the oldest. . . . Our hearts were made to rejoice while together and cheerfulness prevailed."[13] A "Splendid and in[n]ocent wedding and feast" was celebrated by Smith and a "large and respectable company" on 20 January 1836. At this event, he blessed "glasses of wine" to accompany the cake. He remarks in his diary:

> It fell to my lot to attend to this duty, which I cheerfully discharged. . . . Suffise it to say our hearts were made glad, while partaking of the bounty of the earth which was presented untill we had taken our fill. Joy filled every bosom and the countenances of old and young alike seemed to bloom with the cheerfulness and Smiles of youth and an entire unison of feeling seemed to pervade the congregation. . . . This being a time of rejoicing, we hartily embraced it and conducted ourselves accordingly.[14]

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[10]Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 352, 362, 569.

[11]Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 208; Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 387.

[12]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 77.

[13]Ibid., 77.

[14]Ibid., 116-17.

A few weeks before this wedding, Smith, along with his wife and parents sat at a "feast" laid out by Newel K. Whitney, not only for the Prophet and his family, but also for "the lame, the halt and blind" of Kirtland. They all "received a bountiful refreshment furnished by the liberality of the Bishop." It was a foretaste of blessings to come in the kingdom of God: "Our hearts were made glad while partaking of an antipast [antepast] of those Joys that will be poured upon the heads of the Saints w[h]en they're gathered together on Mount Zion to enjoy each other's society forever more."[15]

There was no attempt to ennoble the felicity of other social occasions, especially those noted in "The Book of the Law of the Lord," Smith's "journal" kept by his scribes in Nauvoo, by association with biblical analogues or eschatological categories; they were parties outright, celebrating seasonal events and affective relationships. The journal entry of 25 December 1843, for example, records a "large party" of "about 50 couples" invited to "my table to dine." In fact, Smith turned down an invitation to "solemnize the marriage" of Levi Richards and Sarah Griffiths, apparently because he would not be distracted from his intention of celebrating Christmas in a more convivial manner: "A large party supped at my house and spent the evening in a most cheerful and friendly manner in Music, Dancing, &c."[16]

Only a few days later, Smith again hosted a party, this time celebrating the New Year. It began with "supper at my house" and then "continued music and dancing till morning."[17]

The contrast between these descriptions of joy and conviviality as opposed to the "heaviness" and "diseased anxiety" noted by foreign observers in the individual features and social gatherings of other ante-bellum Americans is worthy of note. Another striking element of these *soirées* is that they celebrated the social ties and affections between men and women in settings organized to bring them together precisely in an era where the sexes were segregating into "separate spheres."

[15]Ibid., 98.

[16]Ibid., 435.

[17]Ibid., 437.

A third striking feature about many of these episodes is the co-presence of the holy and the convivial—the sacred experienced in social settings. An example of the transfigurative power of affective relationships celebrated in extra-ecclesial settings can be seen in Smith's rendezvous with an intimate band of his closest friends and family when he was in hiding to escape extradition to Missouri. An ugly anxious season of fear and clandestine activity was transformed, through the spiritual alchemy of friendship, into a "sacred night never to be forgotten." This meeting, with the reflections and blessings it prompted, was recorded in Smith's Nauvoo "journal" on 16 and 23 August 1842. The entry begins with a blessing pronounced upon Erastus Derby who provided sanctuary and acted as a courier for Smith during this period. Soon, however, the range of Smith's view and benediction includes all of that "faithful and friendly band" who met with him on the night of 11 August. "How glorious were my feelings," he wrote, when he took "by the hand" his "beloved Emma . . . the choice of my heart," as well as those others who "stood upon the shore. These I have met in prosperity and they were my friends, I have met them in adversity, and they are still my warmer friends . . . . [They] have stood by me every hour of peril, for these fifteen long years past. There are many souls, whom I have loved stronger than death; to them I have proved faithful; to them I am determined to prove faithful, untill God calls me to resign up my breath."[18]

Once kindled in Smith's heart, the flame of this affection could spread out to embrace all within its reach; it could even warm its way toward a deviating associate. "We understand," Smith wrote to Abijah Tewksbury, a Mormon residing in Boston, "that you have been cutt off from the Church . . . , and feeling an ardent desire for the salvation of the souls of men, we take pleasure in feeling after you . . . that you may again . . . enjoy the fellowship of the Saints."[19] On the night of 11 August 1842, Smith's "feeling after" or outward reach towards others came to include not only "the lovely band" of

[18]Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 2, Journal, 1832-1842* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 416, 438, 441-42.

[19]Jessee, *Personal Writings,* 580-81.

his intimate friends and immediate family, but embraced also "those who rowed me in the skiff up the river that night."

> Many were the thoughts that swelled my aching heart, while they were toiling faithfully with their oars. They complained not of hardship and fatigue to secure my safety. My heart would have been harder than adamantine stone, if I had not prayed for them with anxious and fervent desire. I did so, and the still small voice whispered to my soul, these that share your toils with such faithful hearts, shall reign with you in the Kingdom of their God . . . . I hope I shall see them again that I may toil for them and administer to their comfort also. They shall not want a friend while I live. My heart shall love those; and my hands shall toil for those, who love and toil for me, and shall ever be found faithful to my friends.[20]

Prose passages in Smith's papers and journals where he expressed his love for devoted friends and co-laborers are among the most beautiful and passionate in his written works. These narratives, together with journal entries of weddings and parties, identify the occasions of Joseph Smith's short career that were among the greatest "joys" and "delights" of his life. For this "child of woe," ardent "feeling after" the affection and fellowship of others by means of the signs and discourse of friendship could foreshorten the geographical, doctrinal, social, and economic distances which alienated human affections and made the creation of communities in antebellum America so difficult to achieve and maintain.

For Smith, the faces, pleasures, and presence of friends and fellow Saints could even redraw the dreadful visage of the coming tribulation of Christ's advent and soften its fearful features. As a result, he could look over a congregation of Saints on 7 April 1843 and preach a gospel completely at variance from the message of cataclysm and spiritual woe attendant upon the imminent return of Christ as predicted by Smith's contemporary, William Miller. "They [the Millerites] raise the midnight cry, but does not tell the people what to do," Parley Pratt noted, to which "President Joseph" remarked: "This day is a Millenium. It is a millenium within these walls. There is nothing but peace."[21] Without the society of those present, who "stood on the walls and covered the walls and the floor" of the

[20]Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith,* 2:417.

[21]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 353.

partially completed Nauvoo Temple, the kingdom of God was inconceivable.

FRIENDSHIP IN A CIVIC AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETY

The exuberant pleasure, the spiritual comfort, and the personal encouragement Smith derived from the expressions of friendship only begin to disclose its centrality to his life and thought. For friendship could also provide the most effective setting for the acquisition and exercise of virtues essential for establishing the foundations of a community of Saints.

Throughout his career, Smith depicted salvation as being dependent not only upon the concerted spiritual and moral strivings of the individual, but also upon a social and civic arena in which human personality could be developed and where it could be worked out. This vision is expressed repeatedly in the theological terms and historical practice of the "gathering of the elect," "consecrating the land of Zion," "building the city of Enoch," and others.

Smith designated the "city of Zion" as the physical and social site in which the Saints would discover, embody, and sustain their pursuit of the kingdom of God. He announced: "It was the design in the Councils of heaven before the world was that the principle & law of that priesthood was predicated upon the gathering of the people."[22] Smith's diarist recorded the Prophet saying: "It is the duty of the brethren to come into Cities to build and live, and Carry on their farms out of the City. Pres Smith spoke upon the same subject of moving into Cities to live according to the order of God."[23] Implicit in this vision is the assumption that attaining the fullness of the "good life" here on earth can be realized only in an urban context and in concert with co-citizens seeking the same ends. The Saints were enjoined to not only gather to a "New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a *city* of refuge, a place of safety for the Saints" (D&C 45:66; emphasis mine), but they were also expected to dedicate their material and affective wealth to build it. City building, consecrating wealth to the public good, and seeking to establish enduring personal ties expressed the resolve of the Saints that they had "es-

[22]Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith,* 210.

[23]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 201.

poused" themselves to "advance the cause" of the "salvation of man" and the "glory of [the] Father who is in heaven."

These measures were intended to establish the "order of God" among his people according to a "celestial" pattern more apt to promote the "good life" on earth—"That you may be equal in the bonds of heavenly things, yea, and earthly things also, for the obtaining of heavenly things. For if ye are not equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things" (D&C 78:5-6).

"Earthly things" acquired and arranged according to a heavenly pattern—this was the most basic tenet believed and practiced by those called to the work of the "restoration of all things." That work was both predicated upon friendship and community and was meant to produce a sanctified society blessed and held together by an indissoluble affective relationships ("equal in the bonds of heavenly things"). This was the language Joseph Smith and the early Saints heard when their Lord addressed and commissioned them to the work of "the kingdom." Through an evocative rhetoric of correlation and recapitulation, the Saints were encouraged to perceive themselves as the Lord's "friends": "I shall call you friends that you may become even as my friends in days when I was with them, traveling to preach the gospel in my power" (D&C 84:77-78). And thereafter, however imperfectly, they strove to look upon one another with "a determination that is fixed, immovable, and unchangeable, to be [a] friend and brother through the grace of God in the bonds of love" (D&C 88:132-33).

Seeking the good life for others in a community/urban setting schooled the Saints for a better life here and in the eternities; it was the active, moral means available to "prepare [them]selves by doing the things which I [the Lord] have commanded," in order to receive a "place in the celestial world" (D&C 78:3-7).

By focusing on building community and affective relationships as the setting for obtaining the "good life," Joseph Smith located the Saints within a venerable social and moral tradition with scriptural, classical, and contemporary roots. The Mormon canon provided analogues to biblical narratives which depicted Christ's disciples building communities based on affective and egalitarian social and spiritual principles in urban landscapes (Acts 4:31-37; 4 Ne. 3, 15-16; Moses 7:18-19, 69). The nation-building vision of some of America's

"Founding Fathers" like Thomas Jefferson was grounded in the confidence that "creation" (or nature or nature's God) had not only "formed men for the social state," but that it had provided humanity with "virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of society."[24] Garry Wills, in his reading of Jefferson and Madison, has argued persuasively that underlying the "mechanics of our Constitution" was the belief that government is "based on ties of affection." By endowing its creatures with sufficient "virtue and wisdom," these men believed that creation had provided "moral sympathy" as the engine which "drove society's whole machinery."[25]

Jefferson and Madison's "classical" republican views were, in turn, based upon and influenced by a history of moral and political philosophy whose genealogy reaches back to Aristotelian social and ethical theory. "Nobody would choose to have all the good things in this world by himself," Aristotle wrote in his *Nichomachean Ethics,* "because man is a social creature and naturally constituted to live in the company of others." Indeed, the enjoyment of the fullness and purpose of human life, "includes parents, wife and children, friends and fellow citizens in general; for man is by nature a social being." These basic social relationships are the building blocks of civic life; without them a community of enlightened citizens (or Saints in Zion) can neither be created nor sustained.[26]

What happens, however, when the civic consensus about the ways, means, and the purpose of nation building, community formation, or what Mormons called "the gathering" break down? What are citizens to do when public institutions and leaders fail to promote or obtain the exercise of virtues and practices requisite for the "good life" in secular cities or in "Zion"? Economic historian Walter Licht has pointed out that a breakdown of civic consensus is precisely what most Americans were experiencing in the 1830s and 1840s: "Fundamental changes in the nature of social

[24]Thomas Jefferson, Letter to John Adams, 28 October 1813, in David A. Hollinger and Charles Capper, eds., *The American Intellectual Tradition: A Sourcebook, Volume 1: 1620-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 161.

[25]Garry Wills, *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 289-90.

[26]Aristotle, *The Ethics of Aristotle: The Nichomachean Ethics,* trans. by J. A. K. Thomson (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 304, 74.

relations and community life [were] wrought by the expansion of unbridled market activity and the spread of the wage labor system."[27] It was a time, as already noted, when Americans lived restless, anxious, uncertain lives. A twenty-six-year-old Joseph Smith discerned, as Henry David Thoreau would on a trip twelve years later, the unease and unhappiness of his fellow citizens on his first trip to New York City. To Emma Smith he wrote: "There is something in every countenance that is disagreeable with a few exceptions. Oh how long Oh Lord shall this order of things exist?"[28] This "order of things" stood in marked contrast to the "order of God" the Saints had been commissioned to bring to pass.

However, the foretaste of things celestial in the Mormon settlements in Ohio and Missouri had also been ruined, as it had been long before in New York City, by a lack of "moral sympathy" and "ties of affection." "Renegade" and "dissenting" brethren, Joseph Smith wrote from Liberty Jail 16 December 1838, had traduced and betrayed the Saints in a mad desire "to gain the friendship of the world." He compared these men to Haman in the book of Esther who, because he could not fathom the "order of God" which placed "Mordecai at the King's gate" and "the people of the Jews" at peace within Babylonian society, sought to subvert that order. Mormon "renegades," because they were the "Devil's emissaries," could only construe the Saints' communitarian practice of consecration and dedication of property to the cause of "Zion," through the eyes of "the world," which increasingly honored only self-made men and which respected only private, secular, and competitive property ownership. Therefore, Smith reasoned, they worked for the overthrow of Zion. Smith proclaimed that, though the settlement efforts in Ohio and Missouri had seemingly ended in tragedy, "Zion shall yet live."[29] What could revivify Zion?

First, it is clear that Joseph Smith did not abandon his urban

[27]Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 48. Also see this discussion for its impact on gender identity and roles in Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 43-55.

[28]Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 253; Henry David Thoreau, visiting New York City in May 1843, observed: "It is a thousand times meaner than I could have imagined." Thoreau, "Chronology," *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 1045.

[29]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 216, 220-21, 224.

ideal for the salvation of the Saints after Missouri. In 1843, he addressed a group of British emigrants, who had arrived recently in Nauvoo, about the conditions of settlement in the city. He cast his mind back to the spring of 1839 and recalled that, in the wake of the Missouri disaster, he cried, "Lord what will thou have me to do? And the answer," he told his congregation was, "build up a city and call my saints to this place!"[30]

However, as Rex Cooper has pointed out, the lessons Smith learned from the disasters in Kirtland and Missouri compelled him to complement the primacy of the institutions of a sacred city and consecrated economic relations as public vehicles of salvation (the good life) with "a new covenantal system" based on consanguineous and constructed ties of kinship.[31] Among the interpersonal relations that came to the fore in Smith's rethinking of the means of rebuilding civic society and the instrumentality of a saving worship, friendship played a central role.[32]

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[30]Ibid., 362.

[31]Rex Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization*, Publications in Mormon Studies, Vol. 5 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 100-101, 132-49.

[32]This is precisely the same conclusion at which reform-minded members of fraternal organizations arrived. Their diagnosis of the transformations taking place in American society, culture, and economics, was roughly on a par with that of Smith's and other contemporary religious and economic advocates of alternative paths to community formation. The American scene was becoming too depersonalized, competitive, urban, and evangelical. The prescription and the results that followed, as constructed by the leaders of nineteenth-century fraternal organizations, are an extraordinary story that needs to be more fully investigated. Recently, scholars have written excellent, pathbreaking works in hopes of illuminating this chapter in American cultural and religious history and, thereby, of balancing out an interpretation too heavily weighted toward Evangelical models. See Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989); and Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic: Anti-Masonry and the Great Transition in New England, 1826-1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). That Joseph Smith was aware of these developments, both theological and ritualistic, is certain given the company he kept—many of his immediate associates had joined Masonic lodges in New York and Ohio and remained loyal to the "craft"; his own introduction to Masonic lore and rites in Nauvoo; and the subsequent ritual and institutional actions he undertook in

The importance of its place in Smith's thought can be discerned from some of his earliest extra-canonical writings. For example, in his 1832 letter to Emma from New York City critiquing the city's disagreeable "order of things," he began to explore the enduring foundations upon which societies, both intimate and extensive, could be built. He confided to his wife this hopeful advice: "You must comfort yourself knowing that God is your friend in heaven and that you have one true and living friend on Earth Your Husband."[33]

Smith is asserting here that the "comfort" of friendship which Emma and Joseph enjoy with God, who first befriends them, enables Joseph and Emma then to befriend each other and abide in true and living friendship together. Affective ties of friendship were Joseph's

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the spring of 1842. Michael W. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood and Masonry: The Relationship between Freemasonry and Mormonism," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 1-116. Smith's radical innovation, what Homer aptly describes as a "startling development," (Homer, 40) was to include women within the fraternal bonds of ritual, lore, and friendship. These efforts may have been taken to address contemporary social and theological distortions effected by an evangelical order which overly "feminized" Christianity and the fraternal orders which weighed down ritual, myth, and social bonds with an exclusive masculinity. Smith's "startling development" needs to be examined at greater length through the lenses of theological, ritual, gender, and fraternal orders studies in order to better understand what he intended to achieve and to what extent the trajectory of his innovation was realized or undermined by the Saints themselves. Did he perceive and attempt to overcome the ideology and practice of "separate spheres" wherein men occupied the public arena of politics, media, the professions, and economics, and women the "private" world of household chores, child rearing, and religion? One intriguing account of Smith's experience and perception of the interpenetration of these spheres is found in Martin Harris's reminiscence about the translation of the Book of Mormon: "One morning when he was getting ready to continue the translation, something went wrong about the house and he was put out about it. Something that Emma, his wife, had done. Oliver and I went upstairs and Joseph came up soon after to continue the translation but he could not do anything. He could not translate a single syllable. He went downstairs, out into the orchard, and made supplication to the Lord; was gone about an hour—came back to the house, and asked Emma's forgiveness and came upstairs where we were and then the translation went on all right. He could do nothing save he was humble and faithful." As quoted in Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 104.

[33]Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 253.

immediate response to what cankered a society's soul: "You must comfort yourself." At this same time, Smith's "occasional" revelations, as noted above, were introduced with words expressing the Lord's avowed friendship to those addressed. Friendship, then, is an icon or image bodying forth the nature of God's relationship with humanity ("God is your friend in heaven") and thus represents and grounds the fundamental interrelational model for the human family ("and that you have one true and living friend on Earth").

Of the affective associations available to the adult Latter-day Saint, Smith was suggesting, in letters to his wife and in the words of plenary revelations, that the model of friendship was primary and indispensable. Friendships based on embodying virtue in the company of others could perhaps dissolve the disagreeableness, care, and anxiety etched on the innumerable individual visages Smith encountered. Friendship could provide the best site for forging lasting bonds of fidelity and unity. That he recognized this concept early in his ministry is also suggested by a remarkable passage he wrote in his own hand 19 November 1833 in his personal "Record Book." In this diary entry, he contrasts the personalities and virtues of two of his foremost colleagues: Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams. Smith notes that Rigdon "is a very great and good man. A man of great power with words and can gain the friendship of his hearers very quick." Yet Smith perceives that something essential is lacking: Rigdon's facility with words and the ease with which he wins the "friendship of his hearers" is a kind of conjurer's act. Smith, after long observation, had discerned what Rigdon's rhetorical sleight of hand concealed: "[He] is not capable of that pure and stedfast love. . . . This with some other things such as a selfish and indipendance of mind which to[o] often manifest distroys the confidence of those who would lay down their lives for him." Rigdon's friendships were cobbled together by the insubstantiality of words, of words artfully deployed to gain "very quick" confidants.

In contrast to Rigdon's facility, Smith assayed Williams's "constant mind" and "Brotherly kindness" and pronounced it pure and unalloyed. Williams "willeth to do well," he "never forsaketh his trust," he is "ever full of love." His virtues possessed a heft and an abidingness which, by contrast, made Rigdon's gifts seem deeply flawed. It is the constancy of Williams's trust and kindness in and

toward Smith, expressed in deeds not words, which attracted and secured Smith's own unswerving commitment and love.[34]

It is also clear, from the observations and reminiscences of Smith's contemporaries, that their prophet and colleague strove to make firm, meaningful, and lasting friendships. He called upon a variety of skills to engage and then deepen the ties of affection between himself and others. Smith initiated ball games, snowball fights, stick pulling, and wrestling contests, he told his brother Hyrum, who disapproved of such antics, because "it makes them happy and draws their hearts nearer to mine."[35] We have seen how he organized and hosted parties in his home and addressed letters of friendship to colleagues both loyal and estranged in efforts to bind friends, colleagues, family members, men and women more closely together. Joseph Young recalled that Smith was "not a . . . haughty chieftain, not . . . an arrogant man"; Brigham's brother marveled when he recalled "how kind and modest he [Smith] was."[36] Smith was ready to forgive and seek reconciliation with disaffected colleagues, even when they had betrayed fundamental trusts or had brought disrepute upon the Saints.[37] Dean Jessee concluded from his extensive work with Smith's papers that a "personal attribute" of "deep concern for family, friends, and indeed, all humanity" was one of Smith's distinctive characteristics.[38] Jessee quotes Orson Pratt: "I witnessed his earnest and humble devotions both morning and evening with his family. I heard words of eternal life flowing from his mouth, nourishing, soothing, and comforting his family, neighbors and friends."[39] Newel Knight wrote in 1838 that he rejoiced to be near his friend, Joseph Smith, because his "words were meat and

[34]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 14-15.

[35]See Alexander Baugh, "Joseph Smith's Athletic Nature," in Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds., *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, The Man,* Religious Studies Monograph Series, No. 17 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 147.

[36]Ronald Esplin, "Discipleship: Brigham Young and Joseph Smith," in ibid., 250.

[37]Arnold Garr, "Joseph Smith: Man of Forgiveness," in ibid., 127-36.

[38]Dean C. Jessee, *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 1, Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1989), xxx.

[39]Ibid., 1:xv.

drink for us." Indeed, upon Smith's arrival in Illinois in 1839 after his imprisonment in Liberty Jail, Knight couldn't wait to see Smith and confessed, "I can never describe my feelings on meeting with him, and shaking hands with one whom I had so long and so dearly loved."[40]

Finally, it is clear that, to these men and to others living in Nauvoo, Smith's untimely and violent death was not only a communal tragedy but they had irretrievably lost a close and personal friend. Newel Knight exclaimed, "O how I loved those men [Joseph and Hyrum Smith]. . . . It seems as if all is gone, and as if my very heart strings will break."[41] Brigham Young confessed to an audience in Nauvoo, "I feel to want to weep for 30 days." "I don't no whether theyll [Smith's assassins] take my life," he exclaimed plaintively; at that moment he didn't care, because "I want to be with the man I love."[42] These passages suggest that Smith not only spoke the language of friendship but also experienced deep and meaningful affective relations with others. He loved, and was loved.

These exclamations and experiences of love and loss resonate beyond the society of Mormons in western Illinois; they harmonize with a nationwide discourse of yearning among adult males in the ante-bellum period for the lost "tenderness" and "intimacies" of male friendships which expired under the withering competitive and impersonal pressures created by emerging market and industrial economies in the Untied States. According to sociologist and gender historian Michael Kimmel, while this period may have been a time of democratization, economic growth, and territorial expansion, it was also an era of "sustained loss" for adult males whose identities became linked with and evaluated according to accumulated wealth and social mobility.[43] That sense of "sustained loss" was the product of the destabilizing conjunction in American life of the "cult of self-made man" with the actual insecurities of the market place. By

[40]William G. Hartley, "Close Friends as Witnesses: Joseph Smith and the Joseph Knight Families," in Black and Tate, *Joseph Smith*, 279-80.

[41]Ibid., 281.

[42]Esplin, "Discipleship," 259.

[43]Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 17. The following quotations are from pp. 28, ix, and 17.

the 1840s, the former had become the dominant, "ruling narrative of manly worth" while the latter became the site for the proving of one's manhood. "Proving manhood" became a "relentless test" enacted in the presence of competitors and strangers. Economic success and position in society were so volatile and dependent upon aggressive, individual behavior, that nineteenth-century American men became "temperamentally restless, chronically insecure, and desperate to achieve a solid grounding for a masculine identity." The solid grounding for a secure gendered identity was precisely what was slipping away from American men in the 1820s-50s: traditional "predicates" of masculine identity—land ownership, mastery of craft, ownership of tools, public service, and the exercise of traditional virtues—were uncoupled by the economic, political, and social crisis of the times and rationalizations of the emerging myth of self-made manhood.

The further insight of Jewish and Christian religious cultures—that full human identity was predicated upon a conjunction of male and female lives[44]—was being sundered by the spatial and emotional segregation of men and women into the "separate spheres" designated for them by the emerging market, urban, industrial, and evangelical world. Can we not view the efforts of Smith and his colleagues, both men and women, as a profound and sustained effort to create an alternative pattern to what was emerging in America's ante-bellum landscape?[45]

And if so, then what can we make of Smith's excruciating and surreptitious introduction of plural marriage among a small number of Saints in Nauvoo? Contemporary accounts and a few moments of candid reflection would argue that the clandestine inauguration and practice of polygamy would corrode already established marriages, friendships, and other working relationships.

[44]"Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh" (KJV Gen. 2:24). "Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, And said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh?" (KJV Matt. 19:5)

[45]This is the conclusion of most recent historians of Mormonism who set the work of Joseph Smith and the Saints in their historical, cultural, and economic context.

Undoubtedly, the negative effects occurred, leading to countless scenes of subterfuge, prevarication, mistrust, disillusionment, and pathos.[46] It is a circle that I, frankly, cannot square. Neither mere charlatan nor angel, Smith was driven by religious genius, incapacitating fears, genuine affections, and blinding passions. His words and behavior simultaneously built and eroded personal relationships and the community he had set out to establish and nurture. It is a conflicted legacy, which, when viewed in retrospect, renders even more poignant Joseph Smith's—and his fellow Saints'—search for enduring friendship and community.

Surely, friendships were important to Smith personally for the joy and solace they provided. But there was more to friendship than the personal and psychological benefits which he derived from them. His early reflections upon his sojourn in New York City and the conscious weighing of the relative merits of Rigdon's and Williams's attributes suggest that Smith correctly perceived how friendships provided a setting for the identification, display, and exercise of virtues essential for the difficult work of creating and maintaining an alternative religious community. So many cities and towns, and other socially constructed public institutions, both sacred and secular, were failing in the 1830s and 1840s to provide a site for the acquisition and exercise of virtues, wisdom, and fellowship. Given that situation, those pursuing the virtuous life could turn to the commitments and solidarity provided by friendships. Smith discerned a truth of classical moral philosophy that it is in and by the virtues embodied in friends that the Saints would come to know and live virtuous lives and commit themselves to sustaining the work of community building. And in this common enterprise, men and women would discover/forge their own "true" identity. Smith expressed this insight in 1842, as he reflected:

> How good and glorious, it has seemed to me, to find pure and holy friends, who are faithful, just and true; and whose hearts fail not. . . . .

[46]For one glimpse into those scenes of "restoration" and "mayhem," see William Clayton's journals, May, 12 July, 16 August 1843, etc., in *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton,* edited by George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1995), 105-6, 110, 117. This is a subject worthy of opera; I wonder who will compose it?

> These love that God that I serve; they love the truths that I promulgate; they love those virtuous, and those holy doctrines that I cherish. . . . I love friendship and truth; I love virtue and Law; I love the God of Abraham. . . . [These] are my brethren, and I shall live, and because I shall live they shall live also.[47]

If good people, dedicated to a virtuous life, are our friends, Smith is saying, then one is more readily situated to observe and experience their examples of virtue and their character of goodness. Aristotle had said that a friend is "another self," someone who supplies "what a man cannot supply by his own efforts." When we enjoy the fruit of someone else's examples and character, it is possible that the exalted goal which inspires their lives and toward which their moral strivings are directed will be revealed to us, and thus placed within what is possible for our own moral life. "It follows," Aristotle reasoned, "that the truly happy man will need friends . . . [and] ought to be conscious of their existence."[48]

Indeed, there is every indication that Joseph Smith was "conscious of their existence." He identified and praised manifestations of virtues in his colleagues and friends as though he were aware of Aristotle's reflections, or, for that matter, Emerson's and Thoreau's. On numerous occasions, he encouraged his friends and associates to embody and enjoy both the classic moral and theological virtues in their lives. He appreciated the honest and constructive criticism of friends; asked forgiveness for his mistakes; praised the kindness, trust, constancy, fidelity, and unity of Saints and colleagues; enjoined the Saints to observe charity, to seek wisdom and temperance, to guard against "self-sufficiency" and "self-righteousness"; and

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[47]Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 531-32.

[48]Aristotle, *The Nichomachean Ethics*, 303, 305, 306. It is not mere coincidence that two of Smith's contemporaries and fellow new Englanders—Emerson and Thoreau—wrote sustained reflections on the need for and the gifts which are derived from "true friends." Friends, both wrote, were essential for education—that is, for finding and living virtues within ourselves. Thoreau observed that our daily intercourse brings us into contact with neighbors, family members, and functionaries of the State and the Church. Yet none may rise, necessarily, above acquaintance and therefore, demand little or nothing from us. Not so the "true friend" who "pays us the compliment of expecting from us all the virtues, and who can appreciate them in us." Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 218.

called upon them to cultivate faithfulness, truth, justice, kindness, virtue, and sympathy for strangers, brothers, and friends.[49]

The purpose of all this attention to virtues and their manifestation in the lives of friends and among the community of the Saints becomes clear. After the shocks registered by Kirtland and Missouri, Joseph Smith discerned that the very qualities which true friendships embody and demand are an inseparable part of building Zion. Manifesting sympathy and forging links of friendship could turn an alien and unknown city and its citizens into a home, a civil society, and a place of redemption. "Almost all who have fallen in these last days in the Church have fallen in a strange land," Smith remarked in 1843. "If there is a place on earth," he continued,

> where men should cultivate this spirit [of sympathy] and pour in the oil and wine in the bosom of the afflicted, it is this place, and this spirit is manifest here. Although he is a stranger and afflicted when he arrives, he finds a brother and friend already to administer to his necessities. . . . I would esteem it one of the greatest blessings if I am aflicted in this world to have my lot cast where I can find brothers and friends all around me.[50]

Joseph Smith recognized that friendship belonged at the center of the moral and political strivings of the Saints. It played an essential role as a "school" for the acquisition and practice of virtues essential for the good life here and for salvation to come. It could also provide an antidote, an alternative to the corrosions of identity plaguing his American contemporaries.

FRIENDSHIP AS DIVINE ARCHETYPE

When Joseph Smith set about prescribing the configurations of the restored Church of Christ and of the building of the "City of Zion," he proceeded according to his understanding of transcendent, divinely revealed models. For him, the archetypes of Church and Zion functioned as normative pictures for reality, that is, revelations about the Church of Christ and the City of Zion provided both "models for institutions" and "norms of practice."[51] Smith

[49]Jessee, *Personal Writings,* 315; Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 14, 110-12, 237.

[50]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 365.

[51]Beverly Moon, "Archetypes," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 1:379-82.

received them as compelling summons to mold the mundane, earthly order of church and community into an icon, or likeness, of the sacred. Thus, he threw himself into the work of building both Church and City, and finally sealed his witness with the blood of martyrdom.

Throughout this career, Smith perceived transcendent paradigms (models of what is ultimately real and important) in the midst of everyday life. At crucial points in his life, there were no clearer manifestations of the holy in the profane, secular world than experiences of friendship. This is as clear in his 1832 letter to Emma written in New York City as it is in his reflections on "that sacred night" of 11 August 1842, when he was rowed to a clandestine meeting site to be reunited with Emma and a handful of his most intimate friends. From Liberty Jail he had written to Presendia Huntington Buell: "My heart rejoiced at the friendship manifested [by those visiting the Mormon prisoners] . . . . Oh what joy it would be to us to see our friends. . . . I want him [Norman Buell] to know that I am your true friend. I was glad to see you no tongue can tell what inexpressible Joy it gives a man to see the face of one who has been a friend." As a result of his forced separation from his friends, Smith claimed, "It seems to me that my heart will always be more tender after this than before."[52] Even an ecclesiastical meeting on 2 February 1836 could be the setting for an intimation of the felicities of the world to come: "Some other business was transacted in union and fellowship. The best of feelings seemed to prevail among the brethren and our hearts were made glad on the occasion. There was joy in heaven."[53]

Smith had used the same expression, "our hearts were made glad," during a post-nuptial party where wine flowed freely and guests ate their fill. What the occasions had in common was the experience of union and fellowship. These affective, enduring solidarities were occasions for experiencing divine love; they echoed the fraternal greetings and affections expressed in the words of contemporary revelation. They could also reveal the essential features of the ideal social order of the Saints and of the life to come.

[52]Jessee, *Personal Writings,* 386.

[53]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 96.

On numerous occasions Smith affirmed: "That which is Earthly is in likeness of that which is Heavenly."[54] This correspondence between things "Earthly" and "Heavenly" applied especially to social and affective associations. Smith affirmed that the "same sociality which exists amongst us here will exist among us there only it will be coupled with eternal glory"; for as touching upon the "Organization of spirits in the Eternal World[,] Spirits in the Eternal World are like spirits in this world."[55]

Many in the Church believed the traditional doctrine reminiscent of Jerome's caricature of Origen's speculation on the "blessedness to be enjoyed by the saints" as subsumed within Divine Substance in the "hope" of "life everlasting." According to Smith, this doctrine was in error. Smith acidly described the evangelicals' heaven as "One universal heaven and hell," where the "virtuous and the whoremonger all huddled together. . . . All stuffed into one God, a big God."[56] Smith asserted that just the opposite was the case: there are many mansions, where our loved ones and beloved friends reside—"friends," from whom we are "separated for a small moment. . . and hold converse with one another [as we do on earth]."[57] Celestial life, Smith asserted is plural, discursive, and passionate in both substance and society.[58]

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[54]Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith,* 380.

[55]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 339, 379.

[56]Ibid., 385. For a brief sketch of "The Christian Hope," see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines,* 2d. ed. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1960), 459-89, especially 485-89.

[57]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 466.

[58]It is possible that Smith, especially after the summer of 1841, focused increasingly upon promoting the intimate society provided by personal friendships as an arena into which he could introduce the practice of plural marriage. He could have reasoned or intuited that a closely knit group of friends would be more apt to receive, in secrecy and with a degree of approbation, the news of this radically innovative and inevitably divisive proposition, than would members of the more diffuse interpersonal networks of civic citizenry and Church membership. Homer, "Similarity of Priesthood and Masonry," 40-41, argues that Smith encouraged the installment of the masonic order, with its bonds of discretion and fraternity, to secure the silence of "both men and women . . . regarding the still-secret practice of plural marriage." In his view, Nauvoo's masonic lodges, the "institution" of the Female Relief Society, and the holy order of those sealed in the "New and Everlasting

Nothing inspired more pain in Smith than the prospect of annihilation or the everlasting separation of friends, family, and the "saints." He shared a profound burden with many Christians of the twilight of the Calvinist era in America in this anguish about the fate of the dead and the brevity of earthly life and associations. He confessed, "If I had no expectation of seeing my mother, brother[s], and Sisters and friends again my heart would burst in a moment and I should go down to my grave."[59]

In answer to this age-old lament, Smith's revelation of priesthood temple ordinances provided his contemporaries concrete means by which they could preserve and renew the bonds of friendship and family ties severed by death. Beginning in the summer of 1840, his startling teaching about vicarious redemptive ordinances cut through the brooding melancholy of the survivors of death, when he affirmed that the Saints "could now act for their friends who had departed this life."[60] "Now what do we hear in the Gospel which we have received?" Smith asked in September 1842. "A voice of gladness! A voice of mercy from heaven . . . a voice of gladness for the living and the dead; glad tidings of great joy" (D&C 128:19).

The institution of these ordinances for the dead may have also

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Covenant" of eternal marriage together were combined to obtain the obedience of female initiates to the "patriarchal authority" of the holy priesthood. Homer's important study is meritorious for acknowledging that the secret rites were introduced to bring the endowment and covenant to both men and women. Carnes's otherwise superb study of Victorian men and fraternal organizations mistakenly construes Nauvoo's ritual life as the exclusive province of its male elite. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood,* 6-7. For important correctives to both Homer and Carnes about the "institution" of the Relief Society and the inclusion of women in the holy order of the priesthood, see Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Forum: Female Experience in American Religion," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1995): esp. 12; Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Temple: Toward a New Understanding,;" Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share;" and Jill Mulvay Derr, "Strength in Our Union: The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective,* edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987): 80-150, 153-207.

[59]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 367.

[60]Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith,* 49, note 1.

functioned to render the "after-life" less forbidding and remote and, hence, more personal and accessible to the living. Family members attending upon Diantha Farr Clayton's spiritual journey into the next world seemed, according to her husband William's account, perfectly willing to accept the veracity of her experience. William Clayton records that on 16 July 1845, his young wife "seemed to be in the world of spirits on a visit," after her father exorcised an "evil spirit" which had caused Diantha to "toss about and rave as if in great pain." For approximately two hours, Diantha appeared both "calm" and "overjoyed" as she met and then conversed with deceased relatives and intimate acquaintances. William Clayton described it as "one of the most interesting and sweet interviews I ever witnessed." It was of particular importance to all those assembled because Diantha conversed at length with "Brother Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Father Smith." Clayton reports that "Brother Joseph" was both the first spirit to converse with Diantha and also the last of "her friends" from whom she took her leave. Joseph, assassinated the previous year with his brother Hyrum, "asked about Emma and the children and how the 12 and Emma felt towards each other. . . . He asked about me [Clayton] and told her I was a good man."[61]

In this extraordinary account of the Saints' ascending acquaintance with and domestication of death, the man most responsible for the creation of their community, the formation of its doctrine, and the one who emphasized the importance of affective relationships for this life and the next, communicated through a sixteen-year-old plural wife that his basic teachings about the substantial reality of the life to come in felicitous company with relatives and friends was experientially true. During her "visit" over "there," Diantha witnessed not only the perdurability of individual identity, she also conveyed to her interlocutors on both sides of the "veil" their conjoined affirmation of relationships between family and "friends." Diantha's intimate experience "in the world of the spirits," and the joy, interest, and sweetness which it conveyed to the small company assembled, momentarily collapsed the infinite distance which separated the living from the dead and brought those gath-

[61]Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle,* 173-74.

ered at her bedside, the scene of her earlier torment, closer together. It was an experience, with its labor, journeying, conversation, and joy, that would be approximated by the nearly six thousand Mormons who passed through the Nauvoo Temple and experienced its rites before the mass exodus of Saints ended in September 1846.[62]

Smith's September 1842 revelation enabled the Saints to emulate the Lord's will-to-salvation for the whole human family and work for the exaltation for the dead. To that question which had so vexed the heirs of Augustine and Calvin: "Is there no salvation for our father and friends who have died[?]" Smith provided the welcome reply: "Every man who has a friend in the eternal world . . . can save him. . . I would advise all the Saints to go to with their might & gather together . . . [and] with all their might save their dead seal their posterity & gather their living friends. . . . You must go through all the ordinances of the house of the Lord so that you who have any dead friends must go through all the ordinances for them the same as for yourselves."[63] The promise given the Saints, if they would do this work, is framed in one of the most moving and eloquent visions of the resurrection ever expressed:

> I have said, father, I desire to be buried here . . . but if it is not thy will . . . find some kind friend to bring me back, & gather my friends, who have fallen in foreign lands, & bring them up hither, that we may all lie together. . . . In the morning of the resurrection, let me strike hands with my father, & cry, my father, & he will say my son, my son. . . & May we contemplate these things so? Yes, if we learn how to live & how to die . . . and it is pleasing for friends to lie down together locked in the arms of love, to sleep, & locked in each others embrace & renew their conversation. . . . So plain was the vision I actually saw men before they had ascended from the tomb as though they were getting up slowly, they took each other by the hand. . . . The expectation of seeing my friends in the morning of the resurrection cheers my soul and makes me bear up against the evils of life. It is like their taking a long journey. & on their return we meet them with increased joy.[64]

CONCLUSION: FRIENDS ALONGSIDE US ON THE WAY

This long journey through life and death is graced by the

[62]Ibid., 199-258.

[63]Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith,* 360, 318, 363.

[64]Ibid., 194-96.

presence of friends "raised up" by the Lord, in Smith's words, to assist and deliver us "in every time of trouble."[65] In their presence and affection our hearts are "made glad." In their fidelity and virtue we perceive and want to appropriate more virtue. Among our friends we experience a vision of heaven, and a foretaste of what Smith called "those joys that will be poured on the heads of the Saints when they are gathered together on Mount Zion to enjoy each other's society forever more."[66] Whether we conceive, with Aristotle, some fortunate people blessed with a "city-state," or, with Joseph Smith, a profound and redemptive corporate life in the "City of Enoch," on "Mount Zion," it is the claim of both philosopher and prophet that there can be no virtuous community, no inhabitants worthy of "good report" without the heavenly, the earthly, society of good friends.

With grim good cause we have been made weary and suspicious of revolutions. In 1989, however, one improbable revolution propelled a decent, wry, sometimes vulgar ex-convict into the presidency of his country. In a recent address to a university audience in the United States, President Vaclav Havel observed that the fate of his people's "velvet revolution" to build a "civic society" (that is, humane, complex, and democratic) depended on whether they could create a "home" worthy of the name: and that there can be no such home without a "world of friends."[67]

Many have lost the humane and sacred signs of affective solidarity that make a home. If I am reading Joseph Smith correctly, this is not merely a private or banal misfortune multiplied by the number of the friendless and the homeless, but a blow against both the realization of a civil society and the kingdom of God—a tragedy, therefore, of human and divine proportion. To forestall or overcome this tragedy, Smith realized, in the words of Aristotle, that "friendship. . . [embodies] virtue [and] is also indispensable to life. For without friends no one would choose to live even though he possessed every other good."[68] It is for this reason that Smith

[65]Ibid., 217.

[66]Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record,* 98.

[67]Vaclav Havel, "On Home," *New York Review of Books,* 5 December 1991, 49.

[68]Aristotle, *The Nichomachean Ethics,* 258.

plumbed the depths of his needs and those of his contemporaries, and then proclaimed friendship the grand fundamental principle of Mormonism. The facts and deeds of friendship are neither commonplace nor private. They reside squarely at the heart of the work of the Restoration.

Zina Presendia Young Williams Card: Brigham's Daughter, Cardston's First Lady

Donald G. Godfrey

ZINA PRESENDIA YOUNG WILLIAMS CARD'S very name tells that she was an American contradiction: a Mormon frontier aristocrat. She was the daughter of Brigham Young and his plural wife, Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young, herself the plural wife of both the founding prophet, Joseph Smith, and his successor.[1]

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[1]Although of uneven quality and limited focus on Zina Young Card, the following sources provide useful information: Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, "Plurality, Patriarchy and the Priestess: Zina D. H. Young's Nauvoo Marriages," *Journal of Mormon History* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 84-118; Mary Brown Firmage, "Dear Sister Zina . . . Dear Brother Hugh," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Summer 1988): 29-50; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Each In Her Own Time: Four Zina's," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 19-135; Eugene Campbell, "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 4-20; Marilyn Higbee, ed., "A

Daughter Zina grew up with a genteel heritage that set an idealistic standard as she coped with the frequently hostile realities of young widowhood, marriage into polygamy, and the settlement of a new frontier in Alberta.

As one of Brigham Young's "big ten," a group of daughters close in age, Zina was born to prominence within Mormonism. She was among the earliest leaders of the Retrenchment Association and its successor, the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association. She was the first "Ladies Matron" at the Brigham Young University, appointed to the BYU Board of Trustees by President Joseph F. Smith. She was one of the first women from Utah to gain international recognition from her work in the suffrage movement, touring the East as an ambassador for her religious beliefs. Zina left the comfort of her Utah home in 1887 to escape federal prosecution for polygamy and, with her second husband, Charles Ora Card, was among the first Mormons to settle in southern Alberta. The poverty and anxiety she endured were in defense of a system she lovingly embraced. Nowhere do her writings suggest anything other than unfaltering support of plural marriage. Neither her diaries nor Charles's give more than the slightest mention to the Manifesto of September 1890. As "first lady" of Cardston, she graciously hosted a parade of Canadian dignitaries in her foothills home. Apostle John W. Taylor singled her out as a woman with "a mission here" in Canada, who has "done much good in meeting the men and women of this nation."[2]

Weary Traveler: The 1848-50 Diary of Zina D. H. Young," *Journal of Mormon History* 19, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 88, 118; Jessie L. Embry, "Exiles for the Principle: LDS in Canada," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 108-16; Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 24-25, 156; Janet Peterson and LaRene Gaunt, "Zina Diantha Huntington Young," *Elect Ladies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1990), 43-49. For discussions of Zina in the context of Mormon women generally and polygamy in particular, see Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "'Under the Sunbonnets': Mormon Women with Faces," *BYU Studies* 16 (Summer, 1976): 471-84; Joan Iverson, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygamy," *Feminist Studies* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1984): 518; Julie Dufrey, "Living the Principle: Mormon Women Utopia and Female Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *Feminist Studies* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1984): 523-36. A biography of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young, based on her diaries, is in preparation by Mary Brown Firmage Woodward and Martha Sonntag Bradley.

Zina was no ordinary frontier woman; yet despite the recent interest in Mormonism, feminism, and polygamy, she has been overshadowed by her more famous father and mother. Similarly, abundant scholarship documents the achievements of her second husband, Charles Ora Card, but Zina's contributions to his successes in Canada have been little studied.[3] Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, herself a Cardston native, admits that the history of the Mormons in Canada "has been written about men and their concerns."[4] Still her description of Southern Alberta's Mormon women fills an important lack about Zina's contributions to that province.

The personal and family papers available in the Zina Young Williams Card Collection give fascinating glimpses of this interesting woman, raising provocative questions and sometimes suggesting answers about her motives, her personality, and the environment that produced her character.

A PROTECTED DAUGHTER

Zina Young was born 3 April 1850 in the "old log row . . . the first house built [by Brigham Young] after he entered the [Salt Lake] valley." Her father also named this newborn daughter.[5] Zina's mother (called Zina Diantha in this sketch to differ-

[2]John W. Taylor, as quoted in Charles Ora Card, Diary, 23 January 1894, published as Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card, eds., *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886-1903* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 243-44. Hereafter quotations from Card's Canadian diaries will cite this published source.

[3]See Donald G. Godfrey, "'Canada's Brigham Young': Charles Ora Card, Southern Alberta Pioneer," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 223, and sources cited in Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, ix-xxxix.

[4]Beecher, "Mormon Women in Southern Alberta," 212.

[5]"A Life Sketch of the Life of Zina Young," p. 1, Box 2, fd. 20, Zina Young Williams Card Collection (hereafter cited as the Zina Card Collection), Brigham Young University Archives and Manuscripts Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah. Folder 20 contains five positive personal histories with very similar titles and content. All five are in third person and, hence, were apparently written by someone other than Zina herself. The most likely candidate is Zina Young Card Brown, the daughter of Zina Presendia Young Card and Charles Ora Card, since she is identified

entiate the two women) had deep New England roots. The Huntington family immigrated to Massachusetts from England in 1633, and one descendant, Samuel Huntington reportedly signed the Declaration of Independence.[6] Zina, who married Henry Bailey Jacobs and bore him two sons, was sealed to both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and took a prominent role among Mormon women in Utah. She was matron at the Salt Lake Temple, counselor in the general Relief Society presidency of Eliza R. Snow (1880-88), and succeeded Snow as general president (1888-1902). Widowed after 1877, Zina Diantha and her only daughter were intimate friends and confidants, a relationship that was much admired.

Zina Diantha moved into the Lion House with her six-year-old daughter. Young Zina grew up with twenty-nine other children.[7] Whatever the arrangement may have lacked in privacy, it gave Zina both refined learning opportunities and a social prominence along with Brigham Young's ten elder daughters. Zina wrote affectionately of her life in her father's home:

> How joyous were our lives. There were so many girls of nearly the same age, and everything was so nice. Our mothers all occupied their apartments on the center floor. The upper floor we children had for bedrooms.

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as the author of the second sketch and her initials appear on the third sketch as well. (1) "A Life Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Card," 6 pp., typescript, written in third person. (2) Zina Young Card Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 26 March 1930, 17 pp., typescript, third person. (3) "Zina Young Card," 3 pp., typescript in third person. "Z.Y.C.B." appears at the bottom of the last page, and "1949" is handwritten on the top right-hand corner of the first page. (4) "A Biographical Sketch of Zina Y. Card, written for B.Y.U., Provo, Utah," 12 pp., holograph, third person. (5) "Zina Y. Card," 11 pp., typescript, third person. Adding to the confusion is the fact that three women in this essay are named Zina: Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young (wife of Henry Bailey Jacobs, Joseph Smith, and Brigham Young), Zina Presendia Young William Card (daughter of Zina Diantha and Brigham Young, wife of Charles Ora Card, and mother of the next Zina), Zina Young Card Brown (wife of Hugh B. Brown).

[6]"A Biographical Sketch of Zina Y. Card," 2. "Sam'el Huntington" appears as a signer from Connecticut. Henry Steel Commager, *Documents of American History*, 9th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1976), 102.

[7]"A Biographical Sketch of Zina Y. Card," 5; Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time," 119.

> Downstairs were the dining room, kitchen, wash room, school room, weave room, and cellars. The parlor, a large well-lighted, well-furnished and well-kept room was the place where our father assembled his family every evening for prayers. No scene is more vivid in my mind than the gathering of our mothers with their families around them, our loved and honored father sitting by the round table in the center of the room. We all controlled every childish display of temper or restlessness, and a sweet spirit of reverence pervaded all hearts. His presence was commanding and comforting, a peaceful control of his family that brought love and respect for him and each other, and his prayers were the grandest and most impressive I have ever heard.[8]

Brigham Young tried to provide a good education for his children and "to give everyone in his family an opportunity for knowledge, improvement and culture."[9] They had a music teacher, a dance teacher, and a governess. When they had learned a song, a dance, or a part in a play, they performed it for their father. Zina's first classroom was in the basement of the Lion House, where Harriet Cook, another of Brigham Young's wives, taught the family's children.[10]

Zina grew up insulated from many pioneer hardships. For instance, her only mention of the famine of 1856 is the memory that, while the family was at prayer one evening, a man came into the kitchen and ate the "hominy" which had been prepared for the children. Zina's mother explained that the man must have been working and needed the food; therefore, they "must forgive him."[11] Similarly, at age seven she heard of the impending invasion of General Albert Johnston's army on 24 July 1857, when she was camping with Brigham Young's other families and twenty-five hundred Saints in Big Cottonwood Canyon. She noted that the mood of the family outing changed dramatically; the next spring, she

[8]As quoted in Mary Brown Firmage, "A Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," paper presented before the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, May 1984, 2; typescript, in possession of Brigham Y. Card. This manuscript contains two pages numbered "2." The page with this quotation appears to have been inserted into the manuscript.

[9]Ibid., 4.

[10]Ibid., 5; Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 331.

[11]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch," 1-2.

remembers the family moving south leaving behind them the boarded-up Lion House.[12]

In 1869, Brigham Young instructed his daughters, particularly the "big ten" to organize the Retrenchment Association to encourage a women's "retrenchment in fashions, not to give away too much luxury and following after the pleasures of the world, but to live the plain upright principles of the Gospel."[13] Nineteen-year-old Zina, appointed its secretary, thus received the first of many formal opportunities to develop leadership.[14]

Zina also related being in her father's office when unexpected callers, three men and two women, arrived. Young welcomed them with the utmost courtesy; after the visit, Zina showed them to the door and overheard one woman remark, "I don't blame Brigham Young's wives for falling in love with him. I could fall in love with him myself."[15]

A Young Wife and Widow

In contrast to her sheltered and privileged youth, Zina's marriages required her to cope with adversity and stressful conditions. At age eighteen, she married Thomas Williams as his plural wife. Williams, age forty, was manager of the Salt Lake Theatre and Young's bookkeeper for several years. Little was written of this relationship, perhaps because William's death cut it short.[16] Zina's great-granddaughter, Mary Brown Firmage, summarizes this marriage briefly: "He was much older than she and she didn't think much of love, but to know him was to love him. She . . . married

[12]Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 250-77; Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 3.

[13]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 6; Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 353-54.

[14]Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 353.

[15]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 8. This event apparently occurred after Zina's first marriage; she would have been about twenty-three.

[16]Firmage, "Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," paper presented before the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, May 1984, 4, in possession of Brigham Y. Card. See also A. James Hudson, "Third Family of Charles Ora Card," in *Charles Ora Card: Pioneer and Colonizer* (Cardston: Author, 1963), 181-82.

in polygamy . . . with the purest, holiest motives . . . Zina knew what it was to live the higher order."[17] Six years later when Zina was twenty-four, Thomas died of an unspecified illness in her arms on 17 July 1874. She had two small sons, Sterling Williams, born 21 September 1870, and Thomas Edgar Williams, born 21 July 1873. To earn a living, she went "from one settlement to another," teaching people how to make wax flowers.[18] Three years later on 29 August 1877, Zina's father died, followed in 1881 by eight-year-old Thomas's death of diphtheria.

Although Zina might reasonably hope to inherit some property from her father, nothing was available immediately; and Zina continued to earn her own way. Brigham Young left a will, but his individual affairs and those of his function as Church president and trustee-in-trust were deeply entangled. Thrust into self-sufficiency, Zina moved to Provo in 1878 to Brigham Young Academy (now Brigham Young University) where she attended school as a student and was, one year later, employed both as the first Ladies Matron, a position she held until 1884, and also as a faculty member in the "Ladies Work Dept."[19] She recalled her distress about the school's reduced financial support during the presidency of John Taylor, her father's successor:

> Being matron to the girls I was well acquainted with its troubles and dark outlook for the future. I told President Taylor that I could not understand how it was that the Spirit of God had inspired my father to establish these church schools for the benefit of the youth of Zion . . . [and] why he as President could not view it in the same light and had not given to the school the support . . . father had intended for it.

President Taylor responded by telling her of a vision he had had in which Brigham Young had appeared to him; Taylor assured Zina of the "bright future in store" for Brigham Young Academy.[20]

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[17]Firmage, "Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," 3; see also "A Life Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Card," 1.

[18]"A Biographical Sketch of Zina Y. Card," 8.

[19]Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time," 122; Firmage, "Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," 5.

[20]Zina Young Williams Card, "Short Reminiscence of Karl G. Maeser," n.d.,

Later, Taylor called Zina to accompany Emmeline B. Wells to attend the 1879 National Women's Suffrage meetings in Washington, D.C. Zina and Emmeline were not universally welcomed at the suffrage, due to their strong support for plural marriage; but in general, according to Zina's daughter, "these two Mormon ladies won the hearts of everyone there and were treated in a very cordial manner by this gathering of the most noted women of our country."[21] Zina, not yet thirty, mingled comfortably with such notables as Susan B. Anthony and accepted appointment to the finance committee, while Emmeline served on the resolutions committee.[22] The suffragists' meeting occurred only days after the U.S. Supreme Court had handed down its verdict in the Reynolds case denying polygamy protection under the First Amendment as a religious practice. Thus, national attention was focused on the two polygamous wives from Utah when they attended the women's suffrage convention. Emmeline B. Wells was a seasoned public woman, and Zina rose to the challenge with impressive success.

According to Brown, George Q. Cannon helped arrange for Zina and Emmeline, as representatives from Utah, to address the U.S. Senate and the House Judiciary Committee.[23] Still later they met President and Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes at the White House. According to her granddaughter, "Zina stressed her belief in the sacred principle under which she had been born and married" and her belief that "if sorrows lived in the hearts of women . . . it would be a far greater one to be the mother of fatherless children who

typescript, Zina Card Collection; Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), MS 6738.

[21]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 9. See also Zina Young Williams Card, Diary, [no day] January 1879, typescript, Zina Card Brown Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[22]Annie Wells Cannon, "Zina Young Card, " *Relief Society Magazine,* April 1931, 204, in Zina Card Collection, Box 3, fd. 6. See also Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time," 132; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 17 January 1879, 3, LDS Church Archives.

[23]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 5.

were not claimed, honored, or respected by men who should have protected them."[24] The *Deseret Evening News* reported Zina's plea to the House Judiciary Committe: "We ask justice at your hands. We ask you to deliberate on this subject that you may know every phase of this quesetion before you do us any greater wrong."[25]

Following Zina's address to the Senate, according to Brown, Senator George Franklin Edmunds of Vermont asked her to call.[26] In the resultant "cordial" interview, Zina expressed her religious sentiment and tried to prove to him that polygamy "seemed far more holy and upright and just to womankind than any other order of marriage. He smiled benignly at her convictions but could not gainsay them, and thanked her for the interesting facts she had told him concerning her father's life and her mother's integrity."[27]

Upon returning home to Utah, Emmeline and Zina toured, lecturing on their experiences. Zina quickly gained the reputation of being a fluent and forceful speaker. Charles O. Card, her future husband, attended one of these meetings in Ogden and recorded hearing "Zina Young Williams . . . [who] had just returned from Washington where they had been to represent the sisters of our

[24]Firmage, "Life Sketch," 5. See also Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 9-10.

[25]Journal History, 18 January 1979. See also Journal History 17 January 1879 and "Mormon Ladies Calling at the White House," *Philadelphia Times*, in ibid., 19 January 1879.

[26]George Franklin Edmunds, U.S. Senator from Vermont, would, only three years later, sponsor a bill providing fines of $500 and prison terms of five years for both polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. It also disincorporated the Church, prohibited polygamists from serving on juries, vacated all offices in Utah connected with registration and election, and disfranchised and barred from public office anyone guilty of polygamy or unlawful cohabitation. A second bill, the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, provided machinery to enforce the provisions of the first act; needless to say, the intervening five years saw a steady crescendo of public discussion, arrests, and court prosecutions, and convictions. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of the Church/Deseret Book, 1976), 394.

[27]Brown,"A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 10-11. The description of the interview as "cordial" is from Firmage, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 5.

Church."[28] Women's historian Joan Iverson credited these two as the first Mormon women "thrust into the . . . movement" who thereafter became active in promoting an enlarged sphere for women."[29] The suffrage movement was one with which Zina would continue her involvement. She courageously spoke her mind and tried to win people over with information and friendship.[30] In September 1898, Zina left Canada to tour the eastern United States, visiting with dignitaries and talking about her life as a Mormon frontier woman and plural wife. Card records: "I am to tarry 6 months alone. One of the sacrifices that bring forth the blessings of Father's Kingdom. Zina joins her sister Susa Gates and they go on a mission through the Eastern States lecturing to allay prejudice as the daughters of Pres. B. Young."[31] She knew the traditions of both Mormon women and eastern cultures and reflected them affirmatively. Born into the elite circle of Mormonism's "leading sisters," Zina's personal gifts and capabilities qualified her for that place.[32]

Meanwhile, she remarried, again as a plural wife. Charles Ora Card was president of Cache Stake and was relatively well off as a result of owning a sawmill and a small farm. A prominent civic leader, he also served as city councilman and justice of the peace until the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) prohibited polygamists from holding elective office.[33] Zina had met Card when she was matron of Brigham Young Academy. Among her charges was Sarah Jane ("Jennie") Card, Card's daughter by his first marriage to Sarah Jane Beirdneau. Because Jennie had become estranged from him and the Church as a result of his polygamy, he encouraged her to seek out

[28]Charles Ora Card, Diary, 6 February 1876, Archive of the Mormon Experience, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[29]Iverson, "Feminist Implications of Mormon Polygamy," 518.

[30]Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time," 132.

[31]Godfrey and Card, 14 September 1898, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 472. Unfortunately, no other record of this "mission" seems to have survived, but she returned after eight weeks, rather than six months.

[32]Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The Leading Sisters: A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Mormon Society," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 27.

[33]Hudson, "Third Family of Charles Ora Card," 39-49. Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, xxxv-xxxvii; Godfrey, "'Canada's Brigham Young,'" 223-34.

"Sister Zina and allow her to advise you."[34] Card visited fourteen-year-old Jennie and his son by Beirdneau, eleven-year-old Charles Ora, Jr., several times from his home in Logan, and also reportedly worked heroically to save some of the books and valuable papers during the 1884 fire which almost destroyed the school.[35]

The relationship between Zina and Card deepened following the dedication of the Logan Temple on 17 May 1884. Zina and her mother were called as temple workers six days later.[36] Charles was selling a house in Logan, and the mother and daughter were making tentative plans to purchase it when, on 25 May, less than a week after their call, Zina received a letter at her Provo home from Card proposing marriage. The proposal was a complete surprise. According to one of the anonymous biographical sketch-writers, "While she respected him very much she had never thought of [marriage] for him [sic]. She deferred answering him until she went back to Logan. She had a dream that convinced her that he was the right man. They were married on the 17th of the following June, 1884."[37]

Zina was thirty-four, and her only surviving son, Sterling, was fourteen. Charles O. Card was forty-five and already had two wives, Sarah Jane Beirdneau, and Sarah Jane Painter.[38]

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[34]C. O. Card, Letter to Jennie Card, 7 January 1887, Zina Young Card Brown Collection, LDS Church Archives, MS 8537, Reel 3.

[35]Firmage, "A Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," 6; Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 9, mistakenly gives the date as 1883. Jennie and Charles were attending the academy's high school, or college preparatory program.

[36]Zina Young Williams [Card], Diary, May 1884-June 1884, LDS Church Archives, MS 4780, Box 3, fd 23. See also Firmage, "Life Sketch," 6. See also Nolan T. Olsen, *Logan Temple: The First One-Hundred Years* (Providence, Utah: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, Inc.), 142; Eugene E. Campbell, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," in Joel E. Ricks and Everett Cooley, eds., *The History of a Valley* (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 285-86.

[37]"A Life Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Card," 3. See also Zina Young Williams [Card], Diary, 15-19 June 1884, Zina Young Card Brown Collection, MS 4780, Box 3, fd. 23, LDS Church Archives; Firmage, "A Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," 6.

[38]Beirdneau had two children, both at Brigham Young Academy. Painter was the mother of four: Matilda Frances (six), George Cyrus (four), Lavantia Painter (three), and Pearl Painter (three months). She would have two more children:

In accepting this second polygamous marriage, Zina took a long step away from the genteel comfort in which she had been raised, experiencing first the anti-polygamy hostility that made her a bride on the underground, and second settling on one of Mormonism's frontiers.

On the Mormon Underground

The Edmunds Act of 1882 had unleashed posses of federal marshals on Utah Territory, armed with subpoenas for both husbands and wives and with full cooperation from the federal territorial courts to prosecute as "unlawful cohabitation" any evidence of marital behavior whether they could prove that a marriage had been performed or not.[39] The prosecutions removed husbands and fathers, which almost invariably meant severe economic hardship in an agrarian society for their families. Children largely grew up without their fathers' presence and with anxiety-ridden mothers. Many families relocated to Mexico or Canada or even within Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and Idaho.[40]

Charles also married a fourth wife, nineteen-year-old Lavinia Clark Rigby of Logan on 2 December 1885, only six months after his marriage with Zina. These new marriages made him a marked man. The results were constant disruption, danger, poverty, and life in hiding. Just one year after their marriage and only three weeks after the birth of their first son, Joseph Young Card, on 28 June 1885, Charles and Zina fled from their home in the middle of the night, traveling several miles to find safety, when U.S. marshals tried to find and arrest Charles. Several times they hid in "a secret room

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Abigale Jane, in 1886, and Franklin Almon, in 1892. Documents referring to Sarah Jane's family, the Nehemiah Wood Beirdneaus, often show such variant spellings of "Birdneau," "Beirdneu," and "Birdno."

[39]For effects of anti-polygamy prosecution, see Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience,* 179; Tracey E. Panek, "Search and Seizure in Utah: Recounting the Antipolygamy Raids," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 316-34; Ricks and Cooley, *History of a Valley,* 112-15. See also Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 33-34; Charles Ora Card, Letter to Zina Card, n.d., LDS Church Archives, MS 4780, Box 11, fd. 6.

[40]Zina wrote to Charles on 5 November 1886, "There is a scattering in Logan, and many are fleeing. . . . If you get a good place to settle you will soon have plenty of company." Charles was then in Canada, seeking settlement sites.

in the Temple."[41] Once after they had been separated, Zina, dressed as an "old woman with a basket on her arm and a broken umbrella over her head," had to go out on foot to find food and shelter for her family. The next day, she was united with her husband only to discover that they were being watched. At one particularly trying period, "without food or shelter, faint with hunger, [Zina] lay on the ground. . . . [Charles] found an old tin plate and put flour and water and soaked a prairie chicken [that he shot] on the stick. Never did food taste so good."[42]

At that, they were fortunate to be together. Husbands and wives were often separated for long periods of time; since letters could be used as evidence, they could only be hand-carried by trusted friends; and polygamous couples often used aliases. "Cy Williams," "Jesse Tuttle," and "Zimri Jorgenson" were some of Card's code names. One undated letter from Zina during this period expressed her loneliness and wariness: "I thank you for the letter, *the lines* and the love expressed. . . . If we could meet and *talk* with no paper to witness what might be said/or what might not be said—so sad."[43] In another letter from the same period, Zina anxiously warned, "Exum [the marshall who had earlier captured Card only to have him escape] is making threats to everyone, and says if it takes 40 years he will get you."[44]

Although no daily record exists to clarify who was in hiding when—whether Charles, Zina, or both—Charles seems to have been the primary target of the federal marshals. He was arrested on 26 July 1886 and, while being taken to Ogden to stand trial, escaped from the train.[45] Whenever it seemed that Zina might be called to testify, she also fled into hiding, sometimes alone with her child, and sometimes with Charles. At times of less tension, she stayed at her home in Logan. In another undated letter, Zina reports that Sarah Jane Painter Card, Charles's second wife, had received a subpoena

[41]Firmage, "A Life Sketch of Zina Presendia Williams Card," 7.

[42]"A Life Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Card," 3-4.

[43]Zina Young Williams Card, Letter to Charles Ora Card, ca. 1886-87, Box 1, fd. 11, Zina Card Collection; emphasis in original.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 1-4.

compelling her to testify at Card's trial, probably a reason for his attempted escape and Zina's own anxiety. Zina continued, "I am feeling more uneasy for myself now than ever before."[46] On 25 October 1886, Zina wrote to "Dear Zimri": "To know you are well and safe is all the best news, and your safety depends on your keeping away from here. . . . Demonic vengeance marks the very step of our enemies. Exum openly declares he will arrest [you] because the officers said you had 'greased' [eluded] him."[47]

The disruptions of the Raid, as this period of persecution was known, were severe on Charles's family. In 1884, Sarah Jane Beirdneau Card divorced him and was excommunicated but remained in the picture, filing suits against Charles and threatening to testify against him.[48] Sarah Jane Painter Card lived alone at the home Card had purchased at 47 North 300 West in Logan with her children after the Raid began.[49] Lavinia Clark Rigby also lived alone, later moving from Logan to Rexburg, Idaho, and later still to Teton, Wyoming, with her first child.[50]

Even though Zina's periods in hiding seem relatively few compared to long periods in her Logan home, the situation was disorienting. Unlike the large and well-ordered household consisting of many wives with their children, to which she was accustomed from her father's house, she and the other wives usually lived separately and could not count on a regular schedule of visits from Card. At one point, Card was not able to visit his families for almost

[46]Letter to Charles Ora Card From Zina Young Williams Card, n.d. 1886-87, Box 1, fd. 11. Zina Card Collection.

[47]Zina Young Williams Card, Letter to Charles Ora Card, 25 October 1886, Zina Card Collection, Box 1, fd. 5. See also Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 25 February 1889 and 14 February 1890, 2-4, 34, and 111.

[48]Brigham Y. Card, "Sarah Jane Beirdneau," in his *Life Histories of the Wives of Charles Ora Card* (n.p.: mimeographed publication, 1987), 4; copy in Zina Card Collection.

[49]See Sarah Jane Painter Card, "Application for Membership to the Society of Daughters of the Utah Pioneers," 22 May 1917, and Charles Ora Card, Letter to Sarah J. Painter, 10 May 1887, sent to this address; both reproduced in ibid., n.p.

[50]In Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 4 January 1892, 198; see also William F. Rigby Family Papers, Archive of the Mormon Experience, Lee Library. Charles and Lavinia had five children: Mary Rigby, born 1887; Lavinia Rigby, 1890; Charles Rigby, 1896; Stirling Rigby, 1899; and William Lavoir, 1904.

two years.[51] Unable to work steadily, Card tried to provide for his family by collecting a debt, selling something, or working briefly. However, each wife was essentially a single mother and the chief provider for her family.

Zina seems to have been close to Sarah Jane Painter Card and Lavinia Rigby Card.[52] Zina's letters and Card's diaries express optimism, faith, and mutual affection for each other and for the other members of the plural family. Writing to Charles at the home of another wife, Zina declared without jealousy: "Your presence today would make our little home a 'heaven' indeed, but I know you are happy and blest in the society of your own loving true and lovely wife. And I can say truly I have not a pang of envy or jealousy, but feel to thank God that those to whom I owe the duty of loving are lovable."[53] Zina's letters are persistently cheerful. Problems are considered as trials and challenges to overcome with persistence and faith. She does not complain or give way to fears but rather offers warm affection and a sustaining faith in God's will.[54]

ON THE CANADIAN FRONTIER

In August 1886, President John Taylor called Charles Ora Card to explore the "British Territory" (Canada) to "assist in establishing a new colony."[55] Charles obediently set off on his first

[51]Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 23-25 February 1889, 73.

[52]Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Mormon Women in Southern Alberta," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada,* edited by Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), 213; Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time," 130; Charles Ora Card, Diary, 22 November and 12 December 1886; 6 and 21 March 1887.

[53]Zina Young Williams Card, Letter to Charles O. Card, written from "Cosy Nook" on Sunday Morning, [no date] 1887, Box 1, fd. 8, Zina Card Collection.

[54]Zina was always optimistic; but when Charles returned from hiding, the tone of her letters changes completely, with references to fear, loneliness, and the challenges of the time becoming rare in comparison to expressions of love and optimism. See her letters in Box 1, fds. 1-11. Also see Charles Ora Card, Letters to Zina Young Williams Card, 26 December 1886, 8 January and 17 November 1889, Box 11, fd. 2, Zina Card Collection. See also Embry, "Exiles for the Principle," 116.

[55]Charles Ora Card, Letter to John Taylor, 2 August 1886; Charles Ora Card Letter Press Copy Book, 1879-1908, 23, MS 1280, LDS Church Archives.

exploration of Canadian territory in September, returning in November. He traveled through the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia, traversed the mountain valleys close to the border, and went on to Calgary, Alberta. Alberta was less crowded, and southern Alberta seemed a bit warmer. Card was a practical politician. He met with locals and government officials at every opportunity. As the plan unfolded, a location for the new community was the first priority, followed by the initial settlement, and third by requests to the Canadian government to bring their plural families. But at first, only one wife would make the journey.

During the planning stage in the winter of 1886-87, Zina reported that she, Sarah Jane, and Lavinia conversed "freely" about who would go to Canada and jointly decided in the spring of 1887 that Zina should make the move.[56] Despite Zina's willingness to emigrate to Canada and the need to find a refuge, she was distressed to leave her mother, and Card was equally sorrowful at parting from his parents.[57]

In the spring of 1887, "41 souls, 12 heads of families, with their wives and children," left for the north by wagon train.[58] Zina's company included pioneers John A. Woolf, Mary L. Woolf, and their five children and Henry Matkin and Mildred Baker Matkin. William F. Rigby (Lavinia Clark Rigby Card's father), Francis C. Preece, and G. L. Farrell drove teams and livestock. Years later, the *Lethbridge Herald* described one of the first groups of settlers: "Wagons carried crates of chickens . . . cook stoves, a plow, shovels, axes, picks, pitchforks, wrenches, camp cooking utensils, as well as flour, vegetables and oats for the horses. . . . A rack was made on the back of the wagon for a newborn calf."[59]

Zina was responsible for a teamster, a herd of cows, a few

[56]Brigham Y. Card, "History of Lavinia C. Rigby Card as Told to Her Grandchildren," *The Wives of Charles Ora Card,* 11-13; Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 6 March 1887, 36.

[57]Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 10.

[58]Ibid., 49, 50, 54, 55; Brigham Y. Card, "Charles Ora Card and the Founding of the Mormon Settlements in Southwestern Alberta, North-West Territories," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada,* 88-89.

[59]Jane Woolf Bates, "Trek of the Pioneers, of 1887," *Lethbridge Herald,* 19 June 1937.

horses, seventeen-year-old Sterling, and three-year-old Joseph. Zina's only unusual problems occurred when a railroad train ran over one of their best horses and when a son began mimicking the teamster's profanity. She dismissed him and drove her own wagon.[60] On 12 May 1887, Card, returning from southern Alberta, met them just south of Helena. He wrote: "I can assure the future perusers of my Journal that this was a happy meeting for me to meet a faithful wife and sons who had toiled through a month of cold stormy weather. . . . I found this little Spartan like Band in good spirits for they had leaned on the Lord."[61]

The party reached Cardston on 3 June 1887 and were greeted with a storm that left six inches of snow on the ground their first night.[62] The family lived in a tent through the summer of 1887, then moved into a single-room log cabin—Zina's home for the next thirteen years. Card called this cabin "Zina's Canton Flannel Palace." It was wallpapered with flannel, and the window curtains were a combination of Nottingham lace and hand-painted oil cloth. The furnishings were reflective of family living, yet suitable for dignitaries who came to visit.[63]

Charles's finances did not flourish despite several entrepreneurial ventures and hard work. His diary mentions frequent returns to Logan to sell land or participate in unspecified business details. He ran a small co-op store from their home; and when he began developing irrigation systems in southern Alberta, the Church provided some funding and the government deeded over property in exchange for labor. Zina gave birth to Zina Young Card on 12 June 1888 and Orson Rega Card on 10 December 1891. When Brigham Young's estate was finally settled Zina inherited a large sum of money, reportedly $30,000.[64] Zina spent six thousand dollars on

[60] "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 12.

[61] Godfrey and Card, 12 May 1887, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 54-55.

[62] Ibid., 58.

[63] Zina Young Card Brown, Letter to Floyd Godfrey, 17 February 1961, Cardston Pioneer Home Museum, Cardston, Alberta; also Zina Card Collection, Lee Library.

[64] Hudson, "Third Family of Charles Ora Card," 163. See also Lawrence B. Lee, "The Mormons Come to Canada, 1887-1903," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 59

building a more comfortable brick home about 1900 but thriftily insisted on using as much "home labor" as possible.[65] In this home, still known in 1956 when the house was razed as "Aunt Zina's" house, "distinguished visitors including English nobility were entertained."[66]

Zina's relationship with her mother was not strained by the separation. They corresponded frequently and visited often. When Zina Diantha became general president of the Relief Society on 8 April 1888, Zina had been in Canada for a year but came to Utah where she served briefly as her mother's secretary. She was pregnant at the time with her own daughter, Zina Young Card (Brown); and only two months after Zina Diantha was called as the Relief Society general president, she went to Canada to attend her daughter after this birth on 12 June 1888. Charles Card felt the warmest affection for Zina Diantha and always welcomed her frequent visits, recording them as significant events in his diary. For example, during baby Zina's birth, he recorded, "Mother Young is very attentive to Zina and baby in bestowing every care a fond mother can and may the Lord bless her for her kindness."[67] During the Canadian years, he returned to Salt Lake City frequently and always stayed in Zina Diantha's home. Zina Diantha was visiting Zina and Charles in July 1901 when she was stricken with her final illness. She insisted on returning to Salt Lake City, and Charles insisted that Zina accompany her so that she would have the best possible care during the journey and in Salt Lake City. Zina Diantha died 28 August 1901.[68]

CARDSTON'S FIRST LADY

Zina, "the unquestionable female leader of the Alberta colo-

(January 1968), 19; Leonard J. Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-79," *Pacific Historical Review* 21 (February 1952): 1-20, and Arrington, *Brigham Young*, 497 and Appendix D.

[65]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 14; C. Frank Steele, "Famous Card House in Cardston, Home of 'Aunt Zina,' to Be Razed," *Church News*, 7 July 1956, clipping in Zina Card Collection, Box 3, fd. 6; Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-1879," 422-30.

[66]Steele, "Famous Card House in Cardston."

[67]Godfrey and Card, 17 June 1888, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card*, 64.

[68]Ibid., 2 July 1901, 598.

nies," played a significant role as the new settlement's first lady.[69] Widespread publicity in the United States spilled over into Canada. In Quebec, the *Montreal Star* opposed the Mormon settlement, urging instead that Canada "teach these Mormons to respect the law when any attempt is made by them to set it at defiance."[70] In her humble cabin, Zina entertained a continuous flow of visitors—"hundreds and hundreds of strangers," as her daughter recalled: politicians, merchants investigating new economic opportunities, journalists, and curiosity-seekers.[71] Among the notables were Canada's Governor General, Lord Stanley (Frederick Arthur Stanley); the Honorable McKenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs; and a string of curious officials.[72] On 13 September 1889, Card recorded in his diary: "Entertaining company at my house, [strangers] of which not a few called. Many came out of curiosity as we were Mormons and now on British soil."[73] Zina participated actively in the discussions. On 28 August 1890, for example, meeting with government officials in Fort Macleod thirty miles from Cardston, "she fired up in defense and some rather sharp retorts were indulged in."[74] Known as the daughter of Brigham Young and as a plural wife, she was continually asked about the Church and polygamy. Zina organized the Dominion Day celebrations on 1 July from 1888 to 1891 and again in 1895 and 1896, inviting not only the Mormon settlers, but also their "gentile friends."[75]

In 1890, when Alberta petitioned the Northwest Territories for incorporation to establish a general store, a cheese factory,

[69]Beecher, "Each in Her Own Time," 122; Beecher, "Mormon Women in Southern Alberta," 211-28; Beecher, "Women's Work on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 290.

[70]Quoted in Hudson, "Third Family of Charles Ora Card," 121.

[71]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Zina Young Williams Card," 14. See also Charles Ora Card, Letter to Deputy Minister A. M. Burgess, Ottawa, 22 February 1890, quoted in Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 14.

[72]See, for example, entries of 31 May 1889, 13 and 27 September 1889; 12 and 29 October 1889; 1 July 1896; 29 August 1896; Godfrey and Card, *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 89-90, 100, 101, 104, 349, 355.

[73]Ibid., 100.

[74]Ibid., 149.

[75]Ibid., 59, 96, 137, 196, 297, 349.

a creamery, a sawmill, and other cooperative businesses, Zina provided financial underwriting, although no known existing record lists the amount, while others contributed time and labor.[76] Such cooperative enterprises were typical of other Mormon settlements.[77]

Zina was also a spiritual leader. Like her mother, she blessed her associates in tongues. Charles records a dramatic example on 23 December 1894 during a gathering to dedicate their new home. He had been absent at an afternoon meeting, and those who gathered in his absence, he found, had been fasting and praying that Zina might speak in tongues. After the opening song and a dedicatory prayer, offered by Charles, testimonies followed. He recorded: "Zina arose & began speaking in tounges & walked to every individual. Some she put her hands on their heads as if to bless them. She did upon mine more particularly and with longer duration. . . . Stated for my faithfulness I should stand free before the people (I took it free from debt). This comfort[s] me very much for I long to see the day."[78]

Zina served as president of the Young Woman's Mutual Improvement Association for sixteen years, formed a community dramatics association, sponsored local theater, participated actively in all of the organized Church meetings, and was, according to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, a chief link to the Church's "governing network in Salt Lake City."[79] Speaking at an informal gathering in Cardston on 23 January 1894, Apostle John W. Taylor praised her: "Zina had a mission here [in Canada] and had done much good in meeting the men and women of this nation."[80]

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[76]C. A. Dawson, "Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada," in W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. Joerg, eds., *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1936), Vol. 7, pt. 3, 173-272.

[77]Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* xxx-xxxii; Ricks and Cooley, *The History of a Valley,* 79-110, 223; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons,* 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 79-110, 223.

[78]Godfrey and Card, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,* 269.

[79]Beecher, "Mormon Women in Southern Alberta," 225; see also Brown, "A Biographical Sketch," 14.

[80]As quoted in Godfrey and Card, 23 January 1894, *Diaries of Charles Ora Card,*

ZINA'S LAST YEARS

In August 1903, Zina and Charles moved back to Logan from Canada, due to Charles's failing health. He died, age sixty-seven, on 9 September 1906. Zina then moved to Salt Lake City where she lived for the remainder of her life. She served for fifteen years on the Primary General Board and became matron of the LDS Business School in Salt Lake City.[81]

On 31 January 1931, at age eighty-one, Zina died quietly in her sleep. The *Lethbridge Herald* published this tribute:

> When Zina Young Card . . . died the last day of January, 1931, in Salt Lake City, there passed from this world a woman whose memory will never fade nor dim before the light of other names so long as Cardston remains to testify of her worth. To all Cardstonians she was known as "Aunt Zina," for she was a sister to every mother and a friend to all.[82]

243-44.

[81]Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-37; reprinted Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 3:340, 4:278.

[82]Brown, "A Biographical Sketch," and personal tributes in "Correspondence to Zina Y. Card from Cardston . . . ," 3 April 1894, MS 4780, Box 4, fd. 6; Relief Society of the Cardston Stake, Letter to Zina Y. Card, 6 August 1903, MS 4780, Box 4, fd. 7.

Ernest L. Wilkinson's Appointment as Seventh President of Brigham Young University

Gary James Bergera

AS EARLY AS FIVE YEARS BEFORE his appointment as seventh president of Brigham Young University in 1950, Ernest Leroy Wilkinson aggressively lobbied top officials of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to implement his grand vision for the lackluster Mormon school.[1] Several months after Franklin S. Harris's 1944 resignation ended his twenty-four-year term as BYU president, Wilkinson, a forty-five-year-old Washington, D.C., attorney and BYU alumnus, carefully outlined his recommendations for Harris's replacement to the church's governing First Presidency.[2] He was

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GARY JAMES BERGERA is associate publisher of Signature Books, Inc. He expresses appreciation for the cooperation and helpful advice of Alice Wilkinson Anderson and Marian Wilkinson Jensen.

[1]William F. Edwards, who joined the faculty as one of Wilkinson's first appointees in 1951, called BYU at the time "nothing more than a high-class junior college." Edwards, Oral History, 8 July 1974, University Archives, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

[2]With rare exceptions, most members of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve also serve as members of BYU's board of trustees.

writing, Wilkinson delicately explained, "because of my deep reverence for that institution occasioned by the fact that I there spent two of the best years of my life, and because I have already sent one child and intend to send other children to that school for spiritual and educational guidance; further because for some time I have had the desire, if I should do well financially, to do something substantial for that institution."[3]

Then in carefully chosen words that just as easily described himself, Wilkinson asserted that Harris's successor should "be a real Latter-Day Saint—a liver as well as a preacher of the gospel"; have a good academic background, although he need not necessarily be a good teacher or hold a Ph.D. in education; be a skilled organizer and administrator, experienced in the practical demands of business or other profession; "have an aptitude for synchronizing the world of the school with the activities of the church"; "by virtue of his experience and study, have a broad vision of the various professions and fields of business for which the various students should be preparing"; and finally have the proper political philosophy,[4] so that a loyal and patriotic faculty would "teach 'correct' economic doctrines—doctrines which would assist in salvaging the American system of free enterprise from threatened extinction."[5]

During the months before and after Wilkinson's thoughtful, if somewhat self-serving, letter, Mormon leaders canvassed numerous possible replacements for Harris, including members of BYU's

[3]Wilkinson, Letter to First Presidency, 26 February 1945, original in Ernest L. Wilkinson Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. For this article, I consulted photocopies of the Wilkinson Papers in private possession. Many of the same papers are referenced in Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years, Vol. 2* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 497-723; Ernest L. Wilkinson and Leonard J. Arrington, eds., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years, Vol. 3* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3-789; Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 429-759; and Woodruff J. Deem and Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President* (Salt Lake City: Alice L. Wilkinson, August 1978).

[4]Wilkinson, Letter to First Presidency, 26 February 1945.

[5]Wilkinson, Letter to J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and Howard S. McDonald, 11 June 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

own faculty. Gradually, each BYU candidate dropped out of consideration until only Gerrit de Jong, Jr., dean of the College of Fine Arts, was left. LDS apostle and BYU trustee Albert E. Bowen subsequently met with de Jong and reportedly confided, "Brother de Jong, I agree with the committee that you would be the best man to be the president out of the group, but whoever would be picked out of the group would have a hard time with most of the faculty, because then they would have said, 'why not me!'" De Jong then helpfully "suggested that they should get somebody who was acquainted with our way of doing things, a good Mormon, but who would be more or less of a stranger."[6]

Eventually, church officials settled on Howard S. McDonald, fifty-one-year-old silver-haired superintendent of the Salt Lake City School District. Born and raised in Salt Lake City, McDonald had served a Mormon mission to the eastern United States, fought in Europe during World War I, and studied at Utah State Agricultural College (USAC) in Logan, where he earned average grades and graduated in irrigation and drainage engineering. He then taught in the USAC science department until 1924 when he accepted a position as a part-time physical education teacher at Mission High School in San Francisco. He later became deputy superintendent of the San Francisco School District. While teaching in San Francisco, he pursued a doctorate in education at the University of California at Berkeley (which he subsequently earned as BYU president in 1949). When offered the superintendency of the Salt Lake City School District in 1944 at a substantial pay increase, he quickly accepted the invitation. He agreed to come to BYU the following year with, as one condition, an annual salary of $6,000, $1,500 more than his predecessor Franklin Harris.[7]

J. Reuben Clark, powerful seventy-four-year-old first counselor in the First Presidency, lauded McDonald's dark-horse appointment:[8] "We have felt, having in mind the school and its

[6]Gerrit de Jong, Jr., Oral History, 2 August 1978, 20, BYU Archives.

[7]See Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University,* 2:419-26, 480; Howard S. McDonald, *Brief Autobiography* (N.p.: Author, 1969), 35-38; salary information in Franklin L. West Papers, BYU Archives.

[8]The phrase is Wilkinson's assessment of McDonald's selection. See Wilkin-

character, that we should have a man of spirituality who is thoroughly converted [to Mormonism] and concerning whom there is no question. That seems to us to be the first consideration. Then we have wanted to find, if we could, someone who was an administrator with a fine personality, with as much experience as he could have, and with proper scholastic attainments."[9] Fearful that Harris had been too secular in his approach to Mormon higher education,[10] Clark added in his charge to newly installed President McDonald: "We shall also expect you to know that, in matters pertaining to our spiritual lives, God's revealed will, His laws, His commandments, declared not only directly by Himself, but by and through His servants, must be taken unquestioned, because they are the ultimate truths that shape and control our destinies."[11]

For the next four stormy years, a mercurial McDonald failed to live up to many of Clark's and others' expectations.[12] He struggled with persistent rumors that the financially strapped Church wanted to sell BYU,[13] charges from school trustees that he was a "spendthrift,"[14] allegations from faculty that he was more of a "high school

son, *Brigham Young University,* 2:417.

[9]BYU Board of Trustees, Minutes, 14 March 1945, BYU Archives; see also Clark as quoted in "Howard S. McDonald Accepts Charge of Duties," *Y News,* 15 November 1945. Privately, Clark stressed to McDonald, "We want someone who will come in and not destroy faith." McDonald as quoted in David B. Rimington, "An Historical Appraisal of Educational Development under Howard S. McDonald at Brigham Young University, 1945-1949" (Ed.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1982), 176.

[10]See Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University,* 2:414; see also J. Reuben Clark, Letter to Franklin S. Harris, 5 November 1931, Franklin S. Harris Papers, BYU Archives.

[11]"Inauguration Services of Howard S. McDonald, November 14, 1945," 17, BYU Archives.

[12]BYU physicist Wayne B. Hales thought McDonald was "sort of flighty" (12); religion professor Russel B. Swensen found him to be a "man with a fiery temper" (12); and psychology professor Mark K. Allen described him as "very emotional, and rather impetuous" (20). Hales, Oral History, 25 May 1978; Swensen, Oral History; Mark K. Allen, 13 September 1978; and Allen, as quoted in Keifer B. Sauls, Oral History, 6 June 1979; all in BYU Archives.

[13]Howard S. McDonald, Oral History, 7 August 1983, 10, BYU Archives.

[14]"The Board called me the spendthrift from California," McDonald later

principal than a university president" and was "too amateurish in his administration,"[15] growing fears from Church officials that he was too confrontational and emotional,[16] and finally suggestions from Clark himself, who reportedly had come to regret his support,[17] that the beleaguered BYU president consider looking elsewhere for a job.[18] Shortly thereafter McDonald bowed to mounting personal and financial pressures and resigned in late 1949 to accept the presidency of the combined campuses of Los Angeles State College and Los Angeles City College at an annual salary of $15,000, more than double his BYU income.[19] So soured had some school

remembered. "It kind of weakened my feelings a little bit." Ibid., 6; see also p. 33.

[15]Sauls, Oral History, 1979, 26.

[16]In repeated clashes with trustees, primarily over funding, McDonald became increasingly angry. After one combative board meeting, Church president George Albert Smith reportedly scolded him, "You do not lose your temper here." As reported in J. Reuben Clark III, Oral History, 19 January 1982, BYU Archives; see also Swensen, Oral History, 21-22; Sauls, Oral History, 1979, 26. Apostle Harold B. Lee praised Wilkinson as BYU president because "I never seemed to get mad." Wilkinson bluntly answered that Lee "hadn't made very good observations, to which [Lee] replied, 'Well, so long as you keep it in control as you have been it will help you very much.'" Wilkinson Diary, 14 July 1954, photocopy in Ernest L. Wilkinson Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; original in Wilkinson Papers.

[17]Keifer B. Sauls, Interview, 8 August 1972; Sauls, Oral History, 1979, 26; Swensen, Oral History, 21; Mark K. Allen as quoted in ibid., 22. Despite rumors to the contrary, McDonald insisted that he was never told—either by the board as a group or by any individual—to leave BYU. "I let it be known pretty much why I couldn't stay longer. They understood, they weren't giving me the leeway I desired." McDonald as quoted in Rimington, "An Historical Appraisal of Educational Development," 255.

[18]"I think it was a good thing for me to leave BYU," McDonald later admitted. "I couldn't take it," meaning the growing opposition from the board near the end of his administration. Richard E. Bennett's handwritten notes dated 8 August 1973, attached to McDonald, Oral History, 1973. McDonald also described himself as being "somewhat depressed" during this time. McDonald, *Brief Autobiography*, 65. For McDonald's tenure as BYU president, see Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:417-95; and Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 19-22.

[19]Two years later McDonald helped to found San Fernando State College; and from 1962 until his retirement in 1964, he was president of Los Angeles State College. From 1964 to 1968 he served as president of the Salt Lake Temple.

trustees become with the temperamental McDonald, that they no longer felt a background in education was a prerequisite, recommending that in the future "it might well be that there would be some real advantage accruing to the University from an administrator not so steeped in academic tradition, thinking, and terminology as some of the professional scholars seem to be."[20]

A proud conservative political and theological ideologue, Ernest Wilkinson did not hesitate to add his voice to those critical of McDonald's administration. At a testimonial banquet for retiring BYU graduate school dean Christen Jensen on 6 June 1949, Wilkinson insisted that the school's educational mission was twofold: first, theology; second, correct history and political science. "Those of us who think of our revealed religion as something separate and apart from our education miss the whole point of this school," he charged. "Unless the truths which we obtain from this Gospel give us additional [knowledge] to offer mankind, there is no occasion for continuing this school." Directing his comments as much to visiting Church dignitary J. Reuben Clark as to Jensen's well-wishers, he added: "Americans need to be reconverted to a belief in the divine origin of our Constitution, to a belief that no nation, under God, can ever expect to survive when the forces of irreligion take over."[21] He stressed that the Mormon concept of limited government and the "Mormon explanation of the rise and fall of governments" were areas in which BYU was destined to make a permanent contribution to world culture. Clark was impressed. In fact, recalled BYU history

McDonald died at age ninety-two on 25 October 1986, in San Luis Obisbo, California.

[20]Search Committee, Letter to First Presidency, 14 April 1950, BYU Archives.

[21]Wilkinson, Remarks at Christen Jensen testimonial, 6 June 1949, Wilkinson Papers. He later told faculty: "The peculiar mission of this Institution is to teach the divinity of Christ. There would be no reason for the leaders of our Church spending millions of dollars each year on this Institution if we were merely to give the secular training given by state institutions." Wilkinson, "Address to the BYU Faculty at a Workshop Preceding the Opening of the 1954-55 School Year," 17 September 1954, 11, BYU Archives. He returned to the same theme twelve years later: "Considering its religious background, considering the testimony that it gives to our students, [BYU] is the greatest institution of higher learning in the world." Wilkinson, "Speech to the BYU Development Council Meeting," 8 April 1968, 3, Wilkinson Biographical File, BYU Archives.

professor Brigham D. Madsen, "it was his declaration of the importance of teaching history that caught J. Reuben Clark's attention. Wilkinson asserted that every student at BYU should be required to take a fundamental course in the history and government of the United States. . . . It was obvious to all present that Clark was delighted with the speech. [Another faculty member] and I were convinced that it made Wilkinson president of BYU."[22]

Within days of delivering his providentially timed speech, Wilkinson was invited to share his concerns about the direction of BYU in detail with several like-minded members of the board of trustees and McDonald. A Republican party convert and vocal critic of the federal government, Wilkinson not only reflected the majority of his ecclesiastical superiors' Cold War fears about the growth of socialism (including Communism) but also personified their right-wing economic, political, and social beliefs. "It seems to me," he explained, "that of all colleges in America, Brigham Young University ought to be the leader in a real crusade for the maintenance of the American system of free enterprise, motivated by Christian restraint and Christian responsibility."[23] "Committed to a philosophy which is the antithesis of that espoused by the communists," he added in a follow-up letter two months later to Apostle John A. Widtsoe, BYU "has a better basis for teaching correct principles of government."[24] Widtsoe responded enthusiastically: "All friends of the BYU would like, as you do, to have the institution assume leadership in subjects consonant with the great revealed possession of the Church." A former university president and born-again conservative himself, Widtsoe concluded: "Bless you for bearing down on that proposition! It has been my dream for many years.

[22]Brigham D. Madsen, "The Education of a BYU Professor," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28 (Spring 1995): 27. For other reminiscences of this event, see Sauls, Oral History, 1979, 26; Mark K. Allen as quoted in ibid.; Swensen, Oral History, 21-22; and Sauls, Interview, 1972, n.p.

[23]See Wilkinson's separate letters to J. Reuben Clark, David O. McKay, John A. Widtsoe, and Howard S. McDonald, all dated 11 June 1949, Wilkinson Papers. Wilkinson also felt that "if the BYU does nothing more than help our young people get the right start in marriage, it is worth all the money it costs the Church." Wilkinson, Letter to LeGrand Richards, 15 February 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

[24]Wilkinson, Letter to Widtsoe, 13 August 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

But, frankly, I see no immediate hope. Our time is taken up with the consideration of routine matters. They seem to be so pressing that big matters of policy are laid aside."[25]

In an effort at diffusing a potentially divisive situation, McDonald answered that besides focusing on those areas Wilkinson had outlined, BYU should consider developments at major secular universities throughout the country.[26] Predictably, Wilkinson could not have disagreed more:

> President McDonald is urging a revision of the entire curriculum "in line with has been done at other great universities in the country." While I am completely in accord that there should be a revision of the curriculum, my own view is that it should not be "in line with what has been done at other great universities in the country." I think that many of our political and economic maladjustments are the result of some extremely bad educational leadership of certain Eastern left-wing institutions.[27]

Convinced that BYU, if guided by the proper leader, could remedy the "excesses" of American liberal higher education, Wilkinson continued to press his program with Church officials throughout the waning months of McDonald's presidency.[28]

In many ways Wilkinson's ally, J. Reuben Clark, defined Mormon educational philosophy during these years; and Wilkinson's blossoming relationship with him probably guaranteed preferential treatment in his quest for the BYU presidency. While Clark would later discover he did not share Wilkinson's expansive vision of BYU (especially its financial cost),[29] he nonetheless knew that Wilkinson embraced his orthodox approach to religious education. Despite his own considerable secular experience, Clark was skeptical of intellectual thought. "I never read anything that I know is going to make me mad, unless I have to read it," he confessed to Wilkinson. "I read

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[25]Widtsoe, Letter to Wilkinson, 23 July 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

[26]McDonald, Letter to Wilkinson, 2 July 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

[27]Wilkinson, Letter to Wilford W. Richards, 7 July 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

[28]See, for example, Wilkinson, Letter to William F. Edwards, 7 July 1949, Wilkinson Papers; BYU Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, Minutes, 26 July 1949.

[29]See, for example, Clark, Letter to Wilkinson, 17 November 1956, Wilkinson Papers; and Wilkinson Diary, 28 April, 7 September 1960.

only as time permits [and select] materials which merely support my own views."[30] In fact, he had earlier written, "I have come to deplore the fact that some of our 'literatti' as I call them, do not spend more time on the philosophy of the [Mormon] gospel as revealed [to the prophets], and less on the pagan philosophy of ancient times and the near-pagan philosophy of modern times."[31] He later observed: "The theories of the 'higher [biblical] criticism' cannot be taught with sufficient thoroughness to youth, or even grownups, to enable those to whom they are taught either to judge of their falsity or, if convinced of their falsity, to explain the same to others."[32]

In what is arguably the most controversial speech of his ecclesiastical career, as well as a watershed in Mormon intellectual history, Clark warned Mormon educators in mid-1938: "No teacher who does not have a real testimony of the truth of the gospel as revealed to and believed by the Latter-day Saints . . . has any place in the church school system. If there be any such, and I hope and pray there are none, [they] should at once resign." He stressed that they were "not to teach the philosophies of the world, ancient or modern, pagan or Christian," adding that his counsel applied "with full and equal force to seminaries, to institutes, and to any and every other educational institution belonging to the church school system."[33]

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[30]Clark, Letter to Wilkinson, 8 February 1950, J. Reuben Clark Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Lee Library. Clark's anti-intellectualism stemmed from his own early experiences. As a young law student, he was able to stave off impending religious apostasy only by deciding not to examine fundamental Mormon doctrines. Clark, Letter to Cloyd H. Marion, 1 December 1956 and 9 December 1959, Clark Papers.

[31]Clark, Letter to John A. Widtsoe, 29 June 1930, Clark Papers. Compare to Clark, Letter to Franklin S. Harris, 5 November 1931, Harris Papers.

[32]Clark, Letter to Milton L. Bennion, 19 April 1943, Clark Papers.

[33]Clark, "The Chartered Course of the Church in Education," 8 August 1938, BYU Archives; reprinted in *Church News,* 13 August 1938; *Improvement Era,* September 1938, 520ff, and James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 6:44-58. This widely distributed document became the underpinnings of future Church declarations on education See Clark, *Messages,* 6:44, and Boyd K. Packer, *Seek Ye Learning Even by Study and Also by Faith* (Provo, Utah: BYU College of Religious Instruction, 1974), 4. The summer school workshop is reported in *Improvement Era,* November 1938, 671.

Russel Swensen, chair of BYU's Church History Department and a graduate of the University of Chicago Divinity School, remembered that Clark's "method . . . caused a lot of bitter reaction." He admitted, "When I taught in the school, I found that I [had to be] discreet. . . . Something that I thought might be a problem to people who didn't have the background, I discreetly omitted. I think many [adopted] that–a voluntary censorship."[34]

Less than two years later Clark repeated his directive to the Church's Commissioner of Education that Church employees–including BYU faculty–not teach "ethics or philosophy, ancient or modern, pagan or so-called Christian," as well as "terms or concepts" such as "church *ideology* or Christian *ideology*." "Teachers," he emphasized, "should carefully refrain from saying anything that will raise doubt or question in the student's mind about the gospel. . . . Every fact, every argument, every reason that can be found must be used to support church doctrines–the gospel–not to question them."[35] So pervasive was Clark's influence that some Mormons coined a term, "Reubenization," to describe his impact. "Reubenization," they explained, meant "the writing out of every program, every speech . . . [anything beyond] the attitude that he gave out to the seminary teachers–that 'you are not hired to think, you are hired to teach'–and then outlining certain things which *he* considered basic and the interpretation which *he* wanted placed on them."[36]

Shortly after the public announcement of McDonald's departure from BYU in October 1949, the First Presidency asked the executive committee of the university's board of trustees to serve as a nominating or search committee for a new president. This arrange-

[34]Swensen, Oral History, 27.

[35]Clark, Letter to Franklin L. West, 17 February 1940, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). See also James R. Clark, *Messages,* 6:208-9. J. Reuben Clark later added, "Profane history may be used when necessary and contributive, but when used it should be obtained from reputable and recognized authorities, not from propaganda sources." First Presidency, Letter to Franklin S. Harris, 29 February 1940, Harris Papers, and James R. Clark, *Messages,* 6:209.

[36]Juanita Brooks, Letter to Dale Morgan, 4 June 1945, in Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus: A Memoir of the Southern Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1982), xxxiii.

ment placed the burden of satisfying members of a disgruntled First Presidency on the shoulders of five apostles: Joseph Fielding Smith (who as chair of the executive committee also headed the search committee), Stephen L Richards, Joseph F. Merrill, John A. Widtsoe, and Albert E. Bowen.

Like J. Reuben Clark, seventy-three-year-old Smith had a well-deserved reputation as a conservative exponent of Mormon theology.[37] He too believed that the canonized scriptures were inerrant and that modern biblical scholarship was suspect, especially when it conflicted with the literal word of God and the teachings of modern prophets. Critical of the "almost unforgivable ignorance" of "far too many" non-Mormon scholars, he reported, "No matter how hard they study, no matter how great their research, no matter how much they understand about ancient languages, customs, etc., [they] must inevitably fail in their interpretations of the sacred scriptures [which] are spiritually discerned."[38] He once cautioned Sydney Sperry, later a BYU Religion Department professor but then a Mormon graduate student: "I fear for some of our young men who go out into the world to receive the learning of the world, for it seemingly destroys their faith."[39] Alarmed at the "modernist" views of some Mormon educators, he concluded, "We may just as well close up shop and say to the world that Mormonism is a failure . . . [for] we are forced to reject all that has come through Joseph Smith."[40] In late December

[37]Indeed, his interpretations have become a measure of LDS orthodoxy. See, for example, William G. Bangerter, "The People Who Influence Us," *Ensign* 5 (May 1975): 29, who was asked specifically if he believed the gospel according to Joseph Fielding Smith.

[38]Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., and John J Stewart, *The Life of Joseph Fielding Smith, Tenth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1972), 320-21; Smith, Letter to Sidney B. Sperry, 5 September 1941, Sperry Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Lee Library. See also Smith, Letter to Heber C. Snell, 27 May 1949, Snell Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Utah State University, Logan. Smith later admitted, "We should have some sympathy for people traditioned in the vagaries and foolish traditions of the world, when we discover how tenaciously members of the church cling to foolish notions in spite of all that is written." Smith, Letter to Ernest Cook, a member who had written to him, 24 August 1949, in private possession.

[39]Smith, Letter to Sperry, 24 May 1926, Sperry Papers.

[40]Smith, Letter to Franklin L. West and Milton L. Bennion, 11 March 1937,

1938 he lamented in his diary: "The more I see of educated men, I mean those who are trained in the doctrines and philosophies of men now taught in the world, the less regard I have for them. Modern theories which are so popular today just do not harmonize with the gospel as revealed to the prophets. . . . Surely the world is ripening for destruction and Satan has power and dominion over his own."[41] Together Clark and Smith formed a powerful alliance in formulating and articulating Mormon educational policy from mid-century onward; Wilkinson not only espoused similar views but ardently promulgated them as president of BYU.

Guidelines for Smith's search committee emerged slowly and stemmed in large measure from their criticisms of Harris's and McDonald's administrations. A need for increased patriotism also surfaced as an important criterion. Widtsoe and Bowen hoped the new president would establish a curriculum in which the Constitution would be taught, as Wilkinson had advocated, as "a sacred and divinely inspired document in its essence and essentials."[42] (In fact, in January 1950 trustees decided to require that all undergraduates take a course in American history and government.) After reviewing forty candidates, few of whom were formal applicants (a common practice among American colleges nationally), committee members narrowed their selection to seven: Henry Aldous Dixon, president of Weber College in Ogden, Utah; Wayne R. Driggs, president of Southern Utah State College in Cedar City, Utah; Preston O. Robinson, manager of the Deseret News Press; George Albert Smith, Jr.,[43] professor of business administration at Harvard University and a favorite choice among BYU faculty; John T. Walquist, professor of education at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Asahel D. Woodruff, dean of the Graduate School at Brigham Young University; and Ernest L. Wilkinson.

Walquist's experience with Smith's search committee indicates

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photocopy in private possession.

[41]Joseph Fielding Smith, Journal, 28 December 1938, Smith Papers, also in Smith and Stewart, *Joseph Fielding Smith*, 211-12.

[42]Bowen, Letter to Wilkinson, 6 February 1950, Wilkinson Papers.

[43]Smith shortly withdrew, fearing that charges of nepotism would be leveled against his father, then LDS Church president, if he should be selected.

those areas with which Church officials were especially concerned: academic freedom and university governance. "Two questions were put to me that I didn't like," he later recalled.

> One was, "What research should a professor be permitted to do at Brigham Young University?" I said, "Anything in which he felt he had competency. And if he didn't have it, why his colleagues would soon straighten him out." The other question was, "What should be the role of the faculty in determining educational policies at Brigham Young University?" I said, "They should have almost the last say in everything, and certainly the last say on major and minors, curriculum in general, and on promotions," and so forth. Well, obviously I knew that I was not very well received. I could sense that my answers were not the things that were anticipated.[44]

While Wilkinson tactfully downplayed any public interest in the vacancy,[45] his supporters were not so timid, personally contacting sympathetic search committee members. Edgar B. Brossard, former president of the Church's stake in Washington, D.C., and chair of the U.S. Tariff Commission, wrote directly to Joseph Fielding Smith. "Ernest is thorough in whatever he undertakes," he stressed. "He is an able and untiring worker in both his law practice and in his Church assignments. He is a loyal, sincere and faithful member of the Church, always putting that first. His legal practice has also given him substantial experience in many administrative, business and governmental matters." Finally, "Brother Wilkinson's family would be the kind of family that would set the proper example at the 'Y', and would be an inspiration to the other students."[46] In addition, William F. Edwards, prominent Wall Street investment banker and president of the New York City Stake, approached John A. Widtsoe and Albert E. Bowen, two of Wilkinson's strongest supporters.[47] Finally, Ezra Taft Benson, also an outspoken conser-

[44]John T. Walquist, untitled interview, 1985, 5-6, College of Education, University of Utah, in private possession.

[45]Wilkinson, Letter to John A. Widtsoe, 6 October 1949, Wilkinson Papers.

[46]Brossard, Letter to Joseph Fielding Smith, 23 November 1949, copy in Wilkinson Papers. This was not the first time Brossard had broached the topic of a new BYU president. See his letter to Franklin Harris, 11 December 1944, Harris Papers.

[47]See William F. Edwards, Oral History, 6 June 1977, 4, copy in private

vative, who had served years earlier with Wilkinson in the Washington, D.C., Stake presidency and who had been an apostle since 1943, intervened directly with Stephen L Richards. [48]

Meanwhile Wilkinson broached the topic with his family and other close associates. His wife of twenty-six years, Alice Ludlow Wilkinson, was then forty-seven. Born and raised in Utah Valley, she was a BYU graduate; but she had lived for nearly twenty years along the eastern seaboard. When Wilkinson took up his law practice in Washington, D.C., in 1936, she had settled comfortably into the nation's capital, "thinking that was going to be our permanent home. . . . We felt that was where we were going to be for the rest of our lives. Little did we know that we would be returning to Provo again."[49] Wilkinson later admitted that his wife "had grave doubt[s] as to whether my impatient temperament would fit into a group of academicians," adding, "She was probably right."[50] Their five children—Ernest, Marian, Alice, David, and Douglas—were twenty-five, twenty-two, eighteen, thirteen, and six, respectively. Young Ernest had finished college and was established in a medical practice. Marian had, at that point, interrupted her college education and was preparing to serve an LDS mission. Alice had just begun her first year at BYU as a "reluctant freshman"; her first preference, an eastern school, "was totally outside my Father's personal agenda," she later wrote.[51] Since David "felt no particular strong ties to his current Junior High School," he actually looked "forward to the move," which "offered proud excitement."[52] And Douglas was too young to be much affected by a move.

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possession; Wilkinson, "Valedictory to Faculty," 20 February 1964, 11, Wilkinson Biographical File: "John A. Widtsoe and Albert E. Bowen were largely responsible for persuading me to accept the Presidency of this Institution."

[48]Ezra Taft Benson, Oral History, 19 July 1997, 2, copy in private possession.

[49]Alice Ludlow Wilkinson, Oral History, 28 September 1979, 7, BYU Archives.

[50]Wilkinson, "Response of Ernest L. Wilkinson at Dinner Given for Himself and His Wife by the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University at the Lion House, the Evening of August 3, 1971," 3, BYU Archives. Twenty years after his appointment, he confessed, "I have made the enemies and she has made the friends" (12).

[51]Alice Wilkinson Anderson, Letter to Gary J. Bergera, 30 January 1995.

Sometime in early 1950 (probably March), weeks before the search committee tendered its official recommendation, Wilkinson convened "a family counsel" to discuss the impending offer.[53] Wilkinson told them he had been "approached by the General Authorities to serve as President of BYU" and asked how they would feel if he accepted. "I remember I sensed that he wanted to accept this calling," oldest daughter Marian recalled. "As his offspring we were honored but surprised by this call. We, of course, did not order him to accept it, but we did agree to leave the decision to him, but we would support him should he choose to accept. He obviously accepted, but he asked us to say nothing about this calling to anyone since the decision was still a very confidential matter."[54] When Marian reported to Church headquarters in Salt Lake City several months later to be set apart for her mission, Richard L. Evans of the First Council of the Seventy pointedly asked her if her father was "going to be the next President of the BYU." She replied uncomfortably that she "was not at liberty to talk about this to anyone." Evans let the matter drop, but she later realized that "he really knew—but just wanted to get my reaction."[55]

By April 1950 word of Wilkinson's probable appointment had already begun circulating on the Utah Valley campus, even though a formal selection still had not yet been made. "I keep hearing rumors that you may be my new boss," wrote BYU treasurer Keifer B. Sauls on 5 April to Wilkinson. However, "just about the time I am about convinced of the reliability of this rumor, I meet someone who says that my rumor is all wrong, that you are to run for the Senate two years hence." Though "both are good ideas," he admitted, "from a selfish point of view I like the idea of your being in

[52]Ibid.

[53]Marian Wilkinson Jensen, Letter to Gary J. Bergera, 21 January 1995. Alice was in Provo, did not attend this meeting, and was apparently not consulted. In fact, she remembers first learning about her father's appointment when she typed his official letter of acceptance. Alice Ann Wilkinson Anderson, Oral History, 20 May 1978, 16, copy in private possession; see also Alice Wilkinson Anderson, Letter to Gary J. Bergera.

[54]Marian Wilkinson Jensen, Letter to Gary J. Bergera.

[55]Ibid.

Provo better than in Washington."[56] Wilkinson hedged on both counts: "It would be extremely difficult for me to abandon my law practice."[57]

On 14 April the search committee officially settled on the strong-willed Wilkinson, a choice that was largely *pro forma* given Clark's and others' backing. In transmitting their recommendation, the committee emphasized that BYU's new president should be a "loyal good-living orthodox Latter-day Saint" with adequate "scholastic attainments and professional academic experience"; and "an administrator of dynamic personality, of great resourcefulness, sound judgment, dependable loyalty and abundant energy with an adequate equipment of health and vigor." Wilkinson, they wrote, "has the indispensable qualification of being a loyal good-living orthodox Latter-Saint.[58] . . . His scholastic attainments and his professional academic experience seem to be adequate. . . . He has a doctor's Degree from Harvard, which is considered desirable in such a position. . . . His professional achievements would seem to command the respect of all." They praised his "high order of intelligence . . . analytical powers, and untiring industry," adding that his wife appeared "in every way qualified to give the support and perform the duties which are to be expected." They agreed that "his severest test would be in winning the faculty who might feel that a professional educator should be chosen," thus conceding that he "does not possess all the qualifications we have been looking for."

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[56]Sauls, Letter to Wilkinson, 5 April 1950, Wilkinson Papers. Wilkinson in fact cherished political ambitions. For his political career before 1964, see my "A Strange Phenomena: Ernest L. Wilkinson, the LDS Church, and Utah Politics," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 26 (Summer 1993): 89-115; for his later Senate bid, see my "'A Sad and Expensive Experience': Ernest L. Wilkinson's 1964 Bid for the U.S. Senate," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Fall 1993): 304-24.

[57]Wilkinson, Letter to Sauls, 19 April 1950, Wilkinson Papers. By this date, however, Wilkinson almost certainly knew that the search committee had formally endorsed his nomination.

[58]Interestingly, according to Wilkinson's brother Robert, "there was never a heretic among my ancestors, consisting of just two generations of Mormons, but of six living children, Ernest is the only one who has the devout bug. And he has plagued me more than anyone else." Robert Wilkinson, Letter to Dean R. Brimhall, 1 April 1958, Brimhall Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

Still they stressed, he was "the best prospect for a successful administration of our great school."[59]

Since Smith's committee had already decided on Wilkinson, it is unclear to what extent the qualifications they identified depended on their choice of Wilkinson and to what extent their selection of Wilkinson resulted from their adherence to these qualifications. According to Wilkinson, John A. Widtsoe later "made it quite plain that I had been asked to take this position because the brethren felt that by coming in from the outside, I would have a fresh view and not be tied down by academic traditions."[60]

On paper Wilkinson was indeed an imposing candidate. He had graduated from BYU in 1921, from George Washington University in 1926 (Bachelor of Law), and from Harvard in 1927 (Doctor of Juridical Science). He had taught law at the New Jersey Law School from 1927 to 1933. He had been admitted to the Washington, D.C., Bar, the Utah State Bar, and the New York State Bar. He had practiced law with Hughes, Schurman & Dwight in New York City; with Moyle & Wilkinson in Washington, D.C.; and had founded his own firm in 1940 in Washington, D.C. He had represented the Ute Indians in their claims against the United States and helped to obtain the largest judgment ever against the federal government: $32 million. He had served as president of the Manhattan Queens Branch, as bishop of the Queens Ward in New York City from 1930 to 1935, and as a member of the presidency of the Washington, D.C., Stake from 1940 to 1949. For men who valued status and achievement, Wilkinson represented a heady kind of self-made fame few Mormons had attained.

Stephen L Richards, on behalf of the search committee and with the necessary approval of the First Presidency, formally submitted Wilkinson's name to the Board of Trustees three months later on 7 July 1950.[61] As expected, the board unanimously approved the selection, and the following week the Church's frail eighty-year-old

[59]Search Committee, Letter to First Presidency, 14 April 1950.

[60]Wilkinson, "Memorandum of a Conversation with John A. Widtsoe about 11 May 1951," Wilkinson Papers. Widtsoe here seems to allude to Franklin Harris's and Howard McDonald's "academic" presidencies.

[61]BYU Board of Trustees, Minutes, 7 July 1950.

president, George Albert Smith, personally telephoned Wilkinson "concerning the possibility of his becoming the President of the Brigham Young University." Smith emphasized that Wilkinson was not being called on a Church mission and that they "did not want to have him sacrifice too greatly. In other words," Smith recorded, they did not want him "to feel that he was obligated to accept the position."[62] Ten days later Wilkinson met privately with all three members of the First Presidency at Smith's home in Salt Lake City. Seventy-six-year-old second counselor David O. McKay, who had favored Henry Aldous Dixon, a career educator like himself, was pleasantly surprised. "There is no doubt," McKay wrote in his diary,

> but that Ernest Wilkinson has the right viewpoint of the mission of Brigham Young University, especially with regard to its mission and the preaching of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. He senses clearly the fact that every department in the school should, as he stated, "be impregnated" with the spirit of the gospel, and that the teaching of the principles of the gospel should not be confined to a Theological Department with other departments feeling that they are estranged therefrom.
>
> Brother Wilkinson is a clear thinker; he makes no pretense to having had any experience in school management; he possesses outstanding ability, which I believe he can direct towards a good organization. On the whole I was favorably impressed with him and earnestly hope and pray that he will succeed.[63]

Two days later the First Presidency acting in its capacity as officers of BYU's board of trustees officially extended Wilkinson an invitation to head the Provo school.[64] For the next six weeks he thoroughly weighed the advantages and challenges of shepherding what would eventually become one of the largest private universities in the United States. Acting BYU president Christen Jensen detailed these clandestine negotiations, which he called "shadow boxing":

> A number of telephone conversations have been engaged in by us between Washington and here, but I always received those messages over

[62]George Albert Smith, Diary, 15 July 1950, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

[63]David O. McKay, Diary, 25 July 1950, McKay Papers, LDS Church Archives; photocopy in Wilkinson Papers.

[64]George Albert Smith, Diary, 27 July 1950; Wilkinson, Letter to the First Presidency, 29 August 1950, Wilkinson Papers.

> in the President's home and not in my office, and likewise a number of letters have passed back and forth. When I wrote back my letters were addressed to Mrs. Alice L. Wilkinson, and when his letters came here they were addressed to Mrs. Julietta B. Jensen [Christen Jensen's wife]. . . . I think you will give us credit for doing a pretty fair job under the circumstances due to the fact that we had a faculty of 250 who were trying to find out.[65]

Before accepting the First Presidency's invitation, Wilkinson wanted their assurance that he had their "unqualified support" in making BYU "the greatest educational institution in the world," the confidence and trust of all members of the Board of Trustees, and permission to remain in "active contact" with his law practice.[66] Finally, he insisted that "there be no 'back-door' diplomacy, by the faculty or others." He knew that under previous presidencies some critics of BYU—both on- and off-campus—had routinely taken their complaints of the administration directly to members of the board or First Presidency. Wilkinson believed that his ability to govern effectively depended almost entirely on his having direct, unmediated, exclusive access to the highest decision-making councils of the Church. President Smith agreed that all university-related issues, including criticisms, "would be directly referred to [Wilkinson] in order that [he] might (1) know what is going on, and (2) be able to decide them as President or make recommendations to the Executive Committee."[67] Two days after receiving these promises, Wilkin-

[65]Reported in George Albert Smith, Diary, 19 September 1950.

[66]Wilkinson then had several court cases pending and had decided to form his own law firm to handle these. He had also just formed a partnership with a Salt Lake City firm. After arriving at BYU, however, he realized that the job would require his full attention; he terminated his association with the Salt Lake partnership and curtailed his involvement in his Washington, D.C., firm.

[67]Wilkinson, Letter to the First Presidency, 9 September 1950, Wilkinson Papers. For reaffirmations of this policy, see BYU Board of Trustees, Minutes, 8 October 1954, 5 June 1963, 2 February 1966; Wilkinson to All Deans, Directors, and Departmental Chairmen, 12 August 1963, BYU Archives; *University Bulletin,* 9 January 1970, 1, BYU Archives. Wilkinson also referred at this time to his having been healed years earlier from virulent influenza. He reported, "I promised my Heavenly Father that if He would spare my life and help me to become successful I would do for the Brigham Young University whatever I was called upon to do. I never had the faintest idea it would ever be that of being President of the institution."

son formally accepted the First Presidency's offer on 11 September 1950, dictating to his daughter Alice, who was working at the time as a secretary at her father's law firm,

> I accept in a spirit of humility and with the hope [that] I may be of assistance to the great faculty of that institution in causing the Brigham Young University to fulfill the full measure of its destiny. Because I am convinced that the ills of the world will never be cured by purely political action, whether that action be translated into international pacts, atom bombs, burdensome armaments, or, otherwise, I welcome the opportunity of returning to my alma Mater where chief emphasis is placed on individual responsibility and righteous living—the only keys to personal and international peace.[68]

"I sensed a feeling of another proud personal triumph for him," Alice remembered, "complicated only by the usual reservation that is concomitant with career moves. It never occurred to me to wonder whether he had the appropriate personality temperament. My expectation was one that he could and would do it with his usual determination and uncommon commitment to what he ever wanted to do. Whether it was the blind faith of the infallibility of one's father or that I long before accepted the fact that I had an unusual father, I know not which. It matters not."[69]

News of the surprise appointment was announced publicly on 27 September.[70] Scheduled to assume office on 1 January 1951, Wilkinson did not move his family into the President's Home until early in February due to the press of an important court case.[71] "This was an awfully bad time to leave," he later explained, "but the opportunity to become President of my alma mater was something which I knew would never come again."[72] "After some 33 years," he

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Although he termed this experience "personal and sacred," it soon became part of the public Wilkinson mythos. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University,* 2:504; "Mormon Dynamo," *Time,* 20 May 1957, 48.

[68]Wilkinson, Letter to the First Presidency, 11 September 1950, Wilkinson Papers.

[69]Alice Wilkinson Anderson, Letter to Gary J. Bergera.

[70]"Wilkinson Selected as BYU President," *[BYU] Universe,* 28 September 1950, 1.

[71]Wilkinson, Letter to the First Presidency, 16 December 1950, Wilkinson Papers.

quipped from his new office, "I now return and find this same room [in the Karl G. Maeser Memorial Building where he bunked as a member of the Student Army Training Corps during World War I] is the President's Office."[73]

Daughter Alice, who had returned to campus five months earlier for her sophomore year, discovered that "the excitement of the moment . . . quickly turned into reality when the roll was called in an opening history class, the professor peering through his glasses and asking, 'Are you THE daughter?' Anonymity, no more! There was no choice but to enjoy it," she realized. For the next ten months she lived with her parents and siblings in the President's Home "under the surveillance of my adoring but often worried authoritative father whose presidential privileges gave him access to the transcripts of every boy I ever dated. (My spirit could match his, so he had reason to worry, but it was also a spirit that permitted us a closer relationship, especially in his mellowing years.)"[74] Older sister Marian would have "found it a little bit difficult to be on the campus as the President's daughter and was glad that I had attended the BYU before he began his administration."[75] She left for her mission shortly before the Wilkinsons moved to Provo. "The impact of being E.L.W.'s daughter . . . was a double-edged sword," Alice agreed. "It exposed us as a family to privilege and prerogative as well as castigation and criticism. But it became familiar, not always comfortable, but certainly never boring."[76]

On 4 April 1951, two months after Wilkinson arrived on campus, President George Albert Smith passed away. As senior member of the Quorum of the Twelve, David O. McKay was publicly sustained as Smith's successor five days later. A nervous Wilkinson worried that "the new 'Pharaoh' might not know 'Joseph.'" McKay

[72]Wilkinson, "Notes for Talk on Founding and History of Firm of Wilkinson, Cragun & Baker for All Attorneys in Office," 11 May 1972, 26, Wilkinson Biographical File.

[73]Wilkinson, Letter, *Universe*, 6 February 1951, 2.

[74]Alice Wilkinson Anderson to Gary J. Bergera. Before the end of the year, however, she married, left BYU, and moved with her husband to Berkeley, California, where he attended law school.

[75]Marian Wilkinson Jensen, Letter to Gary J. Bergera.

[76]Alice Wilkinson Anderson, Letter to Gary J. Bergera.

soon summoned him to Church headquarters, announcing, "Of course, you know that I was not in favor of your appointment." (McKay assumed that J. Reuben Clark had informed Wilkinson of his reservations. Clark had not.) Wilkinson replied that had he known of McKay's feelings, he probably would not have accepted the invitation. Perhaps it was just as well Wilkinson hadn't, McKay answered, since "he had now come to the opinion that President George Albert Smith was correct in appointing me, and that he had been wrong in wanting someone else for the position." He assured Wilkinson of his full support. "I had nothing to fear about continuing in my position," Wilkinson recorded McKay saying. McKay added that "being an educator, he had naturally thought that someone in education would be appointed, but he now realized that there was something more to running a university than being a school teacher, much as he glorified that position. I left that meeting," Wilkinson remembered, "realizing how close I had come to a short tenure of two months, but happy over the continued opportunity. This experience convinced me, more than mere words, that we do not have the papal doctrine of 'infallibility' in our Church."[77]

Wilkinson "has impressed me most favorably with his clear insight into conditions," McKay confided a few months later to Christen Jensen, "and with his intelligent approach to difficult problems. He bids to become a great President."[78] In fact, McKay's unflagging support of Wilkinson repeatedly sheltered and protected the controversial educator for the next twenty years.

At 10:00 A.M. on a blustery 8 October 1951, eight months after he arrived in Provo, Wilkinson was officially installed as seventh president of Brigham Young University.[79] The timing of the inaugu-

[77]Wilkinson, "Response of Ernest L. Wilkinson at Dinner Given for Himself and His Wife," 4-5.

[78]McKay, Letter to Jensen, 3 November 1951, McKay Papers.

[79]The official report of Wilkinson's installation refers to him as the eighth president of BYU, identifying his predecessors as Warren Dusenberry, Karl G. Maeser, Benjamin Cluff, Jr., George H. Brimhall, Franklin S. Harris, Howard S. McDonald, and Christen Jensen. "Report of Proceedings, Inauguration of Ernest LeRoy Wilkinson as Eighth President, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, October 8, 1951," *The Messenger,* November 1951, 4, BYU Archives. However, because Jensen was acting president, whereas the others were full presidents, I

ration allowed out-of-state visitors who had attended general conference to be present. After the invocation by Elder Albert E. Bowen, who had played a major role in Wilkinson's appointment,[80] McKay took the podium in the recently completed $1 million George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. "The principal ideal of the school," he announced,

> is to inculcate faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, faith in God His father, faith, testimony in the Restored Gospel of Jesus Christ. . . . This institution, unhampered by politics, without fear of criticism from others, can teach in every class the existence of God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the divinity of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in its fullness, and waken [in students] a desire to spend their lives in the service of their fellow men. God bless you teachers of this faculty, you students, that you may lift this school, if it has not yet attained it, to that height wherein it may be an example to all higher institutions in the world, that we may contribute to the new trend of thought of education leaders that the great need of the world today is more spirituality, less atheism.[81]

McKay was followed by Wilbur La Roe, a prominent Washington, D.C., attorney, former moderator of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and friend of Wilkinson, upon whom the university was awarding an honorary doctorate. Stephen L Richards, now first counselor to McKay, then issued the official charge to the new president:

> I charge you specifically, my brother and my friend, to be humble before God, to seek through earnest prayer the guidance of His Holy Spirit, and the acquisition of the great gift of wisdom. I charge you to seek diligently for those precious gifts of the Gospel,—discernment and charity and mercy,—which shall enable you to understand sympathetically the hearts of those who shall need your help. I charge you never to waver in your advocacy of revealed principles of truth, and to be not ashamed, as was Paul of old, of the Gospel of our Lord. I charge you to bring honor and reverence to the name and the work of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, whom

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adjudge Wilkinson to be the seventh president of BYU.

[80]Bowen was released as a member of the executive committee the following month, writing to Wilkinson, "I can retire with a good deal of satisfaction in the thought that I lasted long enough to have a prominent part in your selection and installation as the President of the University." Bowen, Letter to Wilkinson, 30 November 1951, Wilkinson Papers.

[81]"Report of Proceedings," 5.

> God chose to restore His Gospel in the latter days. I charge you to bring respect to the constituted authority of his Church [and] its great institutions. I charge you to live and to teach all the Christian virtues, and to leave no doubt in the minds of youth as to the source and authority of the Christian code. I charge you to implant in youth a deep love of country, and a reverential regard for the Constitution of the United States, which shall beget an honest and devoted fulfillment of political and civic obligations. And finally, as did Polonius to Laertes, I charge you to be true to yourself, for as I know you, you will not then be false to any friend of this University nor to any of its worthy objectives.

"As I lay these charges upon you, President Wilkinson," Richards prophesied, "I predict for your administration an era of great growth and progress for this school."[82]

In Wilkinson's response, he set the agenda for BYU's next twenty years and beyond: "I am convinced that the great mission of education, particularly the mission of this great institution, lies in the earnest teaching of the simple truths of the young carpenter who in the short space of some 33 years made possible the redemption of mankind." These teachings, Wilkinson continued, center on prayer, Mormon temple marriage, large families, a democratic social life for students, missionary training, athletics, cultural and intellectual extracurricular activities, sufficient housing, solid scholarship, a traditional role for women students, a faculty willing to make sacrifices, and the establishment of an Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps unit. He vowed that "all instruction . . . shall be premised on daily communion with our Heavenly Father."

He praised alumni for leading "the graduates of all other universities in the country in the size of their respective families," relieved that "there is not race suicide among the graduates of this university."[83] "We shall continue to teach . . . the divine injunction to have large families," he promised, warning that the excuse not to have large families because "they can't afford to . . . comes only from those of little faith. . . . Determined that no student, be he rich or

[82]Ibid., 16. Wilkinson had met with Richards one week previously to discuss the nature and scope of the charges. In response to Wilkinson's questions, Richards told him that the charges applied "to the whole faculty and could be justified in committing them in support of the objectives." Richards, Diary, 1 October 1951, cited in Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:548 note 29.

[83]Wilkinson was referring to birth control.

poor, the son of a poor country farmer or a wealthy businessman, shall be denied any of the social opportunities of the other students," Wilkinson announced that henceforth all campus social clubs would be open to everyone. He wanted participation in athletics "to demonstrate to the world the physical superiority of young men and young women who abstain from the use of intoxicating beverages and tobacco, and who maintain the single standard of morality." He emphasized that scholarships would be awarded fairly without favoring athletes. He foresaw new dormitories to meet the needs of a growing student body and a tightening of "academic standards so that everyone will know that a degree from this institution will be the quid pro quo for hard and constant and intelligent work." He felt "blessed" by the presence of "the gentler sex" in the student body and stressed that "there is a particular field in Home Economics and related subjects in which the girls of this church should also receive specific training. Believing as we do in the sanctity of family life, in the primacy of the home as the bulwark of our civilization, we should spare nothing in giving our girls all the education that they need to be good homemakers and to make good mothers." He asked that faculty "continue to make great sacrifices for this school in heavy class schedules, long hours, [and] extracurricular character building activities," while also calling for an increase in "the academic status of the faculty" so that "our scholarship must be second to none." Whatever else, he closed, "the ultimate mission of this school is . . . to teach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in its fullness."[84]

Elder Spencer W. Kimball closed the two-hour proceeding, praying that BYU would "become the leader throughout the entire world in the family of institutions of learning," and that its students would "go into the Church and into the nation and into the various organizations as leaders to bring new and more lofty concepts into the lives of men and women."[85] An inaugural luncheon followed in the Social Hall; then a reception for the new president was held in the Joseph Smith Building. The day's events concluded that evening with inaugural balls for faculty, delegates, and special guests in the Smith Ballroom and for students in the Social Hall.

[84]"Report of Proceedings," 17-24.

[85]Ibid., 26.

Shortly after Wilkinson's arrival, BYU treasurer Sauls had assured him that "being President of the BYU would take only about one-half of my time; that I could practice law the other half." However, when Wilkinson "opened my desk and found the large number of matters which [acting] President Christen Jensen had left unresolved during the more than one year of his incumbency," Wilkinson remembered, "and when we started to grow, I decided that Keifer Sauls's appraisal was a myth."[86] He also soon learned that not all faculty supported a nonacademician as their president. "We get the impression," complained Asahel D. Woodruff, dean of the Graduate School, in mid-November 1951, "that many of our problems are not important enough to receive much time, or that you have made up your mind about some matters before we feel they have been fully aired."[87] However, only four months later Woodruff wrote more optimistically,

> With the passing of time and consequent sense of fellowship and belongingness which it produces, I am sure that for many others and me there is no longer the subconscious feeling that we have a greater stake in BYU . . . than you who have come more recently. . . . I know these subtle feelings and reservations are far more powerful influences in the behavior of a staff than is generally recognized. You are our President now in more than name, for I believe there is a genuine acceptance of you in the hearts of our faculty members.[88]

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[86]Wilkinson, "Response of Ernest L. Wilkinson at Dinner Given for Himself and His Wife," 3-4. Nearly seven years later Wilkinson reluctantly appointed a new treasurer after discovering a $25,000 mistake Sauls had made in the 1957 budget. "Brother Sauls has been the most faithful member on the faculty, but he just cannot deliver in keeping up with our growth," Wilkinson recorded. "I noted that some suggestions for improvement which were made over a year ago by the auditors have not yet been put into effect. This has been one of the weak spots on the campus ever since I came, and in the interest of efficient operation it cannot continue. We will find some other good berth for Brother Sauls. He can still be very valuable on the campus." Wilkinson, Diary, 31 July 1958; see also 25 February 1958.

[87]Woodruff, Letter to Wilkinson, 14 November 1951, Wilkinson Papers.

[88]Woodruff, Letter to Wilkinson, 7 March 1952, Wilkinson Papers. Still, Wilkinson always found working with the faculty to be one of his greatest continuing frustrations. "My first two or three years [at BYU] were the most fruitful," he recorded six years later. "My complete lack of understanding that most matters should go through faculty committees was a godsend to me. Otherwise many of the reforms that we have accomplished would not have been achieved. I am afraid I have

Although he subsequently claimed he had no "master plan" for BYU upon assuming office,[89] Wilkinson quickly identified several areas that would characterize his administration for the next two turbulent decades: working with the board of trustees to establish and implement school policy, executing his own expansionist agenda, increasing the university's revenues (especially the Church's annual appropriation), anticipating and dealing with a boom in student population, recruiting new faculty despite low salaries and heavy teaching loads, expanding an increasingly inadequate physical plant, and championing a conservative political agenda. Also characterizing his administration would be his ongoing struggle to lead without being abrasive, paternalistic, condescending, or dogmatic, all traits which he found difficult, if not impossible, to overcome.

Wilkinson's contribution to BYU cannot be overstated. In numbers alone, his accomplishment will probably never be repeated. "He had the ability to set extremely demanding objectives," one colleague reported, "and to pay whatever price was required to achieve them."[90] True, he did not work alone, gathering around him a tightly knit coterie of carefully chosen "lieutenants" who shared his commitment to BYU even if they sometimes disagreed with his methods. Just as important, if not more so, he also enjoyed the virtually unqualified support of Church President David O. McKay. But it was Wilkinson's single-minded drive to transform a bucolic BYU into the kind of educational institution that he hoped would one day command the admiration of American academe that set the direction and guided the future course of Mormon higher education. Whatever place BYU occupies today in the LDS and American educational community it owes in large part to Ernest Leroy Wilkinson.

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now become too cautious. I have today resolved to again be more forthright in what I am doing." Wilkinson, Diary, 24 July 1958.

[89]Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University,* 2:552. Given his years of correspondence with Church leaders on the role and function of BYU, Wilkinson's appraisal here seems too modest.

[90]William F. Edwards, former Wilkinson administrator, quoted in Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson,* 520.

The Mechanics' Dramatic Association: London and Salt Lake City

Lynne Watkins Jorgensen

INTRODUCTION

THE YEAR WAS 1841. Twelve-year-old Philip Margetts was living with his large family in London, England.[1] That year, two unexpected

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LYNNE WATKINS JORGENSEN, M.A. A.G., recently retired from the Family History Library where she was a consultant in the U.S./Canada department. She also taught family history, religion, and LDS research for the BYU Center in Salt Lake City. Her history thesis from BYU dealt with the identification and histories of London Mormons, 1840-45, a project that has led to several interesting spin offs.

[1]Philip Margetts, one of the most important members of the theatrical community in Utah from 1850 until his death 1 September 1914, developed a love of the theater early in life. His name is spelled as both "Philip" and "Phillip" in contemporary documents, but he was known almost universally as "Phil." He was born 10 February 1829 in Kineton, eight miles from Stratford on Avon. See Ralph Margetts, "Biography of Philip Margetts, Utah Actor" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1956), 2. The Margetts family belonged to the Marylebone Branch (Family History Library, hereafter FHL, film 087,018), the Theobalds Road Branch (FHL film 087,036), and the London Conference (FHL film 087,014) of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The father, Thomas Margetts, converted in 1842 but died before he could be baptized. For more information on individuals in this paper, see also the FHL "Ancestral File," a lineage-linked data base representing the contributions of thousands of genealogical researchers.

events occurred which would influence the direction and quality of his life and, in turn, the direction and quality of life in the Utah Territory. First, Philip and his family encountered Mormon missionaries, including Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow, and were baptized; second, Philip received a free ticket to a performance of Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* sponsored and acted in by members of the Mechanics' Dramatic Association.[2] Philip Margetts often told his children and grandchildren:

> When I was 12 and 13, I often traveled to sit in the pit at the feet of the great actors such as Macready, Keane or Forest [an American actor]. I watched them interpret the great roles of Shakespeare. . . . Once I saw in a shop window a placard on which appeared a figure of a mechanic with a dinner pail under his arm. The announcement under the picture indicated that the "Mechanics Dramatic Association" would present "Hamlet" at one of the theatres. As I stood deciphering the announcement, I became aware that someone was standing behind me. Turning around I glanced up into the quizzical smile of a young man dressed in working clothes with a dinner pail under his arm. "Would you like to see that play?" asked the young mechanic. "Yes sir," I replied, and eagerly grasped the ticket the youth extended. Later that evening I watched my unknown friend play the part of the Gloomy Prince.[3]

In this paper, I describe the influence that many Londoners

[2]*Mechanic* in this name, and as used in this paper, means artisan or handicraftsman. It fit many London converts who were trained as tool makers, clock makers, jewelers, engineers, tailors, gardeners, merchants, barbers, bakers, butchers, herbalists, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and clerks. Of particular relevance here are the number of London Mormons who were artists and musicians of considerable training and talent. See Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, "London Mormons 1840-45: 'What Am I and My Brethren Here for?'" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), 43-61.

[3]Ralph Margetts, "Biography of Philip Margetts, Utah Actor," 11, and retold by another son, Albert E. Margetts in Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor from 1850 to 1869," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, June 1948), 26. This thesis identifies three hundred actors and other participants, much of the information from *The Curtain,* a theatrical newsletter that began publication in the 1860s. In 1866, Margetts recognized C. W. Couldock as the actor who had given him the ticket when he and his daughter Eliza acted at the Salt Lake Theatre. They became fast friends, Eliza often stayed with the Margetts family in Salt Lake City, and she died in Salt Lake City. See references to Couldock in George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City: Beehive Press, 1928), 162, 165, 200, 237-38, 290.

who became Mormons in the mid-nineteenth century had on the arts and culture of Utah Territory. I will also examine the possible effects that their brief exposure to London neighborhoods might have had on Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff and their future leadership in Zion.

It is important to understand that religion and the theater in early Victorian London were important influences on many young people. Prominent nineteenth-century sociologist Charles Booth classified London's lower classes as "the very poor, utterly without hope," and the "poor who would be able to make ends meet if they lived frugal and rigorously self disciplined lives, . . . and if their luck held out."[4] My research indicates that many London converts were from the second category. They had ambition, discipline, courage, and at least a little personal time. Most of the male converts had a skilled trade, were merchants, or were white collar workers; the London Conference also included one professional man and several artists.[5]

LONDON NEIGHBORHOODS

In the 1840s, London was still a conglomeration of small villages, some almost rural. Regions were narrowly defined and typical Londoners looked to their "neighborhoods" as they formerly looked to their villages for answers of community needs, including employment, entertainment, and religious involvement.[6]

At one level this neighborhood "life" consisted of informal encounters; but at another level, citizens within a "neighborhood"

[4]Elman Fried, ed., *Charles Booth's London* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 21.

[5]I identified Mormons baptized in London from the 1841 London Census, Finsbury division (FHL films 438,776-438,784); London Conference and Branch membership records particularly the Marylebone Branch (FHL film 087,018); from diaries, journals, and memoirs as cited; Utah census records; obituaries; and the Ancestral File. See also James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837-1841* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992), 18, 171-96; see also Jorgensen, "London Mormons," 43-62.

[6]A. S. Wohl, *The History of Working Class Housing* (London: Newton Abott, 1971), 29. Villagers who came to London to lodge with friends and relatives immediately entered communities with accepted mores and hierarchies.

were drawn together by specific interests and formal institutions such as apprenticeships, jobs, rental arrangements, the purchase of food and services, and also concentrations of friends, kin, religion, sports, politics, and philosophy.[7] When Mormon missionaries arriving in London selected their places of residence, this decision almost certainly strongly influenced their success, as well as the class, attitude, occupation, and avocation of the Church's new members.

The quest for a religious identity, particularly nonconformism, was a passion with many young working Londoners. Nonconformity reflected anti-establishment, religious dissent against the state church and professional clergy.[8] Mormon converts in the London Conference strongly reflected nonconformist trends of the 1840s. England's first official religious census, taken on Sunday, 30 March 1851, at all houses of worship, showed that of church attenders in cities such as London, the largest percentage were working-class citizens drawn to the nonconformists and evangelicals. Nonconformity was almost indigenous to Londoners where people were less traditional than in small towns and villages. This census showed 6,012 Mormons meeting in fifty-eight locales in the Greater London area.[9] Nonconformist citizens constituted an intelligent and familiar community, where they could feel that their talents were fully valued, where they were provided with a sense of separateness from the world and could partake in a common experience of conversion, and where they could share a belief in a personal mission to preach their beliefs.[10] The typical Lon-

[7]Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croon Helm Ltd., 1979), 8.

[8]Ibid., 104.

[9]1851 Census of Great Britain Report and Tables on Religious Studies, (FHL); Richard Lawton, ed., *The Census and Social Structure* (London: Frank Cass Ltd., 1978), 241, 275 (the Mormon figures are in Appendix 9); David M. Thompson, "The Religious Census of 1851" (FHL British 942 X2ce); John F. C. Harrison, *The Early Victorians, 1832-51* (Glasgow: William Collins and Sons, Ltd., 1984), 151-52 (FHL 942 H2hjf).

[10]Harrison, *The Early Victorians, 1832-51,* 151-52; see also Jorgensen, "London Mormons 1840-45," 62-63. Most of the London converts had been nonconformists, their names appearing on the rolls of the Duncan Street Irvingite Church, the Upper Street Independent Church [Congregationalist] Islington FHL 1238605, and the

doner was not anti-religion, but was anti-established religion and anti-professional clergy. Thus, the Mormon message, which promised membership and male priesthood ordination almost simultaneously, strongly appealed to Nonconformists. Furthermore, conversion had an edge of daring which further set the converts apart, for it signified their willingness to exchange life in cosmopolitan London for life on the American wilderness frontier.[11]

But as the Mormon missionaries moved into London neighborhoods, they were influenced in turn by the stimulating environment of London—its industry, commerce, architecture, art, and drama—especially by its drama. I find considerable evidence that many of the middle-class converts[12] valued theater-going as second only to their religious activities during their nonwork hours. London's theater district, by law, was confined to the City of Westminster or the London City area until 1843 "in the interest of good manners, decorum, or public peace." A map of London theaters and a map of the neighborhoods in which members of the London Branch and Conference lived covered the same real estate.[13] Most of London's theatres were within walking distance of the Mormons' homes. Theobald's Road and Drury Lane were just a few streets apart. The journals of Thomas Ambrose Poulter, Philip Margetts, and John Paternoster Squires refer frequently to attending the

Newman Street Catholic Apostlic Church. FHL 1238605, 1037086; Jorgensen, "London Mormons, 1840-45, 62-80. These churches were in the same London neighborhoods as the theaters.

[11]Ronald W. Walker, "Cradling Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987): 33.

[12]Philip Margetts and his colleagues in London during the 1840s could probably be considered middle class. Historians P. A. M. Taylor and Ronald Walker both suggest the occupational roles of British converts, which could be judged roughly as middle class in the 1840s and 1850s, steadily declined until, by the 1860s, the middle class was less than 10 percent of the total convert population. London conversions strongly reflected the same pattern. See Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 150-51; and Walker, "Cradling Mormonism," 29.

[13]L. C. B. Seamans, "Theater and Music Hall," *Life in Victorian London* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1963), 153; Jorgensen, "Membership Map" in "London Mormons, 1840-45," 49.

theater. Samuel George Read and Elizabeth Quilley Read, Martin Handcart pioneers from London, named their last two children "Thisbe" and "Pyramis," characters from *Midsummer Night's Dream.*[14] Teenage brothers and sisters such as Leo, Angelina, LaVinia, and Aurelia Hawkins, Joseph and John Hyde, Jr., Henry Tucketts with his brothers and sisters, Mercy and Philip Westwood and their five siblings, and Henry and John Paternoster Squires were theater devotees. John Hyde, Jr., and LaVinia Hawkins, as a courting couple, attended the theater frequently; so did tailor Claude Clive and his fiancée, Mary Anne Pullin; likewise, fancy carriage painter and professionally trained actor Henry Maiben and his future wife, Caroline Penn,attended plays during their courtship, as did William Poulter, Caroline Strubbell Poulter, and Thomas and Hannah Butler Poulter.[15]

All of these young Londoners later participated in Utah's theatrical community in the Utah Territory. Their efforts, the interest of other theatrically minded immigrants from England and America, and Brigham Young's hearty encouragement made the theater a major factor in the new Zion's cultural profile.

Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith, living on Ironmonger Row in St. Luke's Parish during their 1840 mission, were hospitably taken to see the city sights by their neighbor, Dr. William Copeland. Copeland also brought them to Covent Garden on 23 December 1840, where Woodruff saw a "wonderful Performance of Shakespears night dream," apparently the first time he had seen this romance with its internal play performed by mechanics/artisans.[16]

Earlier Brigham Young had joined Woodruff and Heber C. Kimball in attending the Royal Theatre (Drury Lane) and at Covent Garden during a short but significant eleven-day visit. This visit, in addition to administrative and proselyting responsibilities, included

[14]The Poulter, Margetts, and Squires journals are available in the Family History Library.

[15]Thomas Ambrose Poulter, "Life of Thomas Ambrose Poulter from his Diary," (1817-94) *Utah Pioneer Biographies,* bound typescript, 44:35, 94-165, Family History Library.

[16]Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898,* typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85): 1:582; Allen, Esplin, and Whittaker, *Men with a Mission,* 195.

attending a pantomime, a flea circus, a rope dancing exhibition, and a Punch and Judy show.[17] Although he had not attended dramatic productions as a youth, and most American religious leaders frowned on drama, he apparently greatly enjoyed these London activities. In Nauvoo when Joseph Smith formed a dramatic company, Brigham Young, along with such leaders as Erastus Snow and George A. Smith, willingly took part; Young played a "High Priest" in *Pizarro,* a play set in Peru with Book of Mormon echoes. Still later, Young told his daughters: "If I were stranded on a cannibal island and given a task of civilizing its people, I would straightway build a theater for the purpose."[18] Brigham Young also preached that "the stage can be made to aid the pulpit in impressing upon the minds of a community an enlightened sense of a virtuous life."[19]

Lorenzo Snow, who served as British Mission president after Wilford Woodruff returned to America in 1841, also acquired an enthusiastic love for the theater in London. In 1854 when he was called to settle Brigham City, he offered to have plays in his house, which became the town's first theater, "winning a place in Brigham Young's heart for life."[20]

London boasted six important playhouses during this era: (1) Royal Theatre (Drury Lane) offered some Shakespeare plays but was most famous for plays and pantomimes, (2) Her Majesty's Theatre

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[17]Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 91; *Wilford Woodruff's Journal,* 1-11 December 1840, 1:554-77. Young admired London architecture—especially Worchester Cathedral and Westminster Abbey—and purchased an architectural guide to the last building. C. Mark Hamilton, *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People* (Salt Lake City: University Services, 1983), 11. Arguably his interest influenced the future Salt Lake City skyline.

[18]Pyper, *The Romance of the Old Playhouse,* 26; Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses,* 289; Clarissa Young Spencer and Mabel Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home* (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Co., 1947), 140. Ten of Brigham's daughters, including Clarissa, appeared on the stage of Social Hall productions.

[19]John A. Widsoe, comp., *Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978), 243.

[20]Manuscript History of the Units of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, British Mission, London Conference, LR 5006, vol. 1, 17 Feb 1841. Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); Jerry Johnston, "Brigham's City," *The Pioneer* (publication of the Sons of Utah Pioneers), March/April 1994, 9.

in the Haymarket, (3) Theatre Royal also in Haymarket, (4) Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, (5) the Lyceum, and (6) Sadler's Wells in Finsbury.[21] Sadler's Wells, known for two centuries of disorderly conduct, had become quite respectable at this point, presenting twenty-four Shakespeare plays between 1844 and 1862. Other popular theaters included the Princess Theatre, the Adelphi Theatre, and Astley's Amphitheater. For generations in London, ordinary working people could, from theater galleries, see the best acting and dancing available in England for a few pence; the numerous music halls with their pantomimes, comic plays, and melodramas were even cheaper.[22]

Teenagers like Margetts, his five brothers, and other members of the London Conference were part of the large crowds who milled around outside the playhouses long before the doors were opened, then hurried to secure a cheap seat in the pit or the gallery. Once the play began, audiences were "enthusiastic, roaring their approval or their condemnation at the end of each scene with lusty impartiality. Many London families spent three or four evenings a week at the theater, comedy and farce the clear favorites of the masses."[23] Diaries of contemporary Mormons, such as Thomas Poulter's, show the same pattern.

Theater in Salt Lake Valley, 1850s

Philip Margetts entered adolescence and Mormonism almost simultaneously, being baptized in May 1841 at age twelve. He had a minimal education—but solid ability to read, write, and "cipher," was willing to work hard, and eager to learn a skill. Margetts eventually became both a blacksmith and an apprentice train engineer.[24] A biography by his son documents his enchantment with the theatre: "It was part of the air he breathed."[25]

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[21]Seamans, *Life in Victorian London,* 153. From the end of 1841 until 1843, Drury Lane was managed by the actor, William Charles Macready, who did much to bring prestige to the theatre. Philip Margetts was an ardent fan of Macready's.

[22]Christopher Hibbert, *London: The Biography of a City* (London SW: Penquin Books Ltd., 1979), 221 (FHL British book 942.1/L1 H2hi).

[23]Ibid., 174-76.

[24]Ancestral file; Theobalds Road Branch Records and London Branch Records.

In January 1850 Philip, one month short of his twenty-first birthday, with his mother (his father was dead), brothers Henry (age twenty-three), and Richard (age twenty-seven), and nineteen-year-old sister Ann, sailed for New Orleans and joined an ox train of Mormons at St. Louis.[26] Energetically, Philip and Henry refused to match their pace to a slow ox team and instead made the reckless decision to take off on their own from the Platte River to walk four hundred miles to the Salt Lake Valley, following the wagon tracks. They ignored the fact that they had little food, that Indians were unfriendly, and that wild animals roamed the land.

Philip published this tale in the *Juvenile Instructor* in 1903, giving it a Shakespearean title: "One Man in His Time Plays Many Parts—His Act Being Seven Ages." He remembered:

> The cholera this season was raging fearfully, consequently the route was thickly marked with the graves of the California immigration who had preceded us and fallen by the wayside. . . . It seemed at times as though we were passing through the valley of the shadow of death. A few days after leaving the [wagon] train, as I remember well, having made a fire of sagebrush and camped for the night, we were treated to the most unmusical serenade that ever curdled human blood. A pack of wolves, fierce and hungry, hovered around the camp and made night hideous. . . . The cause of this free entertainment was not disclosed to us until daylight, when we found that we had camped where the creatures were expecting to banquet, it being in the centre of a spot where the remains of fifty or sixty persons had been interred. These we discovered to our horror and dismay, were mostly unearthed. It is impossible to conceive of anything more ghastly than the sight that thus met our startled gaze.[27]

Fortunately, the boys arrived safely in Salt Lake Valley on 1 June, nineteen days before the ox train which brought their family.[28] Both young men soon found work as blacksmiths, and Philip also assisted John Moburn Kay, a gifted artisan and a convert from Lancaster, in his metal foundry. They fashioned the first iron and brass

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[25]Ralph Margetts, "Biography of Philip Margetts, Utah Actor," 11.

[26]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 23.

[27]Philip Margetts, "One Man in His Time Plays Many Parts—His Act Being Seven Ages," *Juvenile Instructor* 38 (1 August 1903) 472-74.

[28]Andrew Jenson, "Biography of Philip Margetts," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-37; reprinted Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 1:104-06.

Philip Margetts in his popular character, Mr. Toodles, Utah State Historical Society

C. W. Couldock in costume, the "mechanic" who first introduced Margetts to the theater. Marriott Library University of Utah

castings in the territory including coins of such high quality that they won a prize in Philadelphia.[29]

Kay, an English convert from Lancaster, was involved in a very interesting theatrical experiment to which Margetts was instantly drawn. Kay one of the founders of the Deseret Musical and Dramatic Society, organized in 1850 primarily of members of the Nauvoo Brass Band, who performed regularly in the Bowery, a wooden building located in the southeast corner of the Temple Block. It was named the "Old Bowery" after a New York theater.[30] Kay was a gifted

[29]Ibid.; John Moburn Kay, in ibid., 1:661-63.

[30]Philip Margetts, "Early Theatricals in Utah," *Juvenile Instructor* 38 (15 May 1903): 291; Pyper, *The Romance of the Old Playhouse,* 40. George D. Pyper was first an actor in and then manager of the Salt Lake Theatre for thirty years. He had access

natural singer whose renditions of the songs of Zion, according to Andrew Jenson, encouraged many Mormon pioneers.[31] Kay, his wife Ellen, and two daughters, Sarah and Ellen, performed vocals, instrumentals, and recitations at the dedication of the Social Hall on New Year's Day, 1853; in fact, the whole family appeared frequently for years.[32]

Before Margetts's arrival, "theatrical" performances, "including the dancing of the hornpipe" were presented in the Bowery, a rude timber framework of posts and columns fastened with wooden pegs or strips of rawhide with a platform at one end. Preaching services were held here on Sundays, weather permitting.[33] Historian Edward Tullidge somewhat apologetically explained, "If the Church stooped to this [organizing a theater], she but gave her helping hand to civilization, without losing aught of her own caste, for those actors and musicians were here ordained elders and high priests."[34]

By the time Margetts arrived and joined his employer's theatricals, he discovered that his religion and his dramatic avocation could be combined with the same ecclesiastical and social respectability. Gentiles were excluded from membership in the dramatic societies, and the rules included prayers before performance, no

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to play bills and minutes of the early theater; see also George D. Pyper Collection, P001, MS 1, no. 808, Marriott Library, University of Utah. The "Old Bowery" was newer then and replaced the "Bowery," which served as a community meeting place, when weather permitted, from 1846 to 1849.

[31]Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia,* 1:663.

[32]Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia,* 1:661. Kay served two missions in England and was there in 1857 when Margetts was also a missionary. Margetts stayed with Kay in Liverpool until 7 August 1857 when he went to London; they corresponded regularly throughout their missions. Kay died 27 September 1864 returning to Utah. Philip Margetts, "Journal of Mission to London, 1857," microfilm of holograph, Family History Library; photocopy of holograph in my possession. The diary begins 25 April 1857 and ends 18 May 1859 when he recommenced work in a blacksmith shop in Salt Lake City. He did not make entries from his arrival in New York until the 18 May entry. See also Kate B. Carter, comp., "The Salt Lake Theatre," *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1962): 5:216.

[33]Carter, "The Salt Lake Theatre," 5:218, 214. "Hornpipe" quotation attributed to Edward Tullidge, another British convert.

[34]Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Edward W. Tullidge, Publ., 1850), 4:737.

smoking, no drinking, and no profanity.[35] The emphasis was on comedy, farce, and light-hearted romances, at least partly because Brigham Young wanted the Saints to laugh and escape temporarily from emotional hardship. Probably many agreed when he said, "My mind labors like a man logging all the time and this is the reason why I am fond of these pastimes—they give me a privilege to throw everything off and shake myself."[36] Theatricals, music, and dancing provided this desired recreation. In fact, Brigham Young's farmhouse, constructed in 1862 and reconstructed from archaeological studies and diary descriptions at This Is the Place State Park in Salt Lake City features a spacious, high-ceilinged ballroom on the second floor. This room was designed expressly for parties, balls, musicales, and plays.

THE DESERET DRAMATIC ASSOCIATION

In 1852, Kay helped found the Deseret Dramatic Association, a guild of actors and supporters, some of them honorary. Membership was drawn from the Deseret Musical and Dramatic Society, the Nauvoo Brass Band, and others. Almost immediately this group could use the newly built Social Hall, a small but substantial building devoted to civic and cultural events, including theatrical pursuits. It was dedicated on New Year's Day, 1853. The actors were nearly all amateurs, making the theatricals of the Saints during the 1850s all the more extraordinary. An 1853 review explained:

> The [Deseret] Dramatic Association was in full bloom nearly every evening, during the week before last . . . and the [Social] Hall generally well-filled with attentive and interested assemblies. We have often heard the performances and scenery, highly spoken of, and gentlemen who have been accustomed to theatricals in Europe and America, say they have seldom seen our stage equalled in any country; and this is the more surprizing, as all our participants procure their living by constant daily labor; while their evening exercise is for amusement, rather than lucrative income.[37]

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[35]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 300; Widstoe, *Discourses of Brigham Young,* 243.

[36]Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses,* 14 April 1867, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 1:30.

[37]*Deseret News,* 5 February 1853, 12 (FHL film 026,586); Benjamin G. Ferris, a non-Mormon writer (*Utah and the Mormons* [New York: Harper and Brothers,

The Deseret Dramatic Association numbered over 100 members, only ten of whom were actually actors who received public notice or appeared on the stage, while other members formed the production staff.[38] According to Pyper, "nearly all the players were called on 'missions' to act," and this refreshing encouragement from religious leaders made many theater-goers from England and the United States eager to become more involved, if only as stage hands, doorkeepers, ushers, costumers, musicians, barbers and hairdressers, scenery painters, or utility men and women.[39] This egalitarianism was enhanced because all were considered full members of the Deseret Dramatic Association, and all worked without pay except for an occasional benefit or a free ticket.[40]

From playbills and ticket lists, between 1850 and 1879, Winifred Snell Margetts has determined that at least one-fourth of the participants in the Salt Lake dramatic community for that period had lived in London, either permanently until migration, or temporarily as a missionary.[41] For example, London tailor Claude Clive

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1854]), added "the performances are better sustained in all their parts than in the theatres in the Atlantic cities. . . . They lack in costume, but their music is good, and they have a scene-painter [probably Maiben] who would embellish theatres of much greater pretension." Ferris quoted in Ralph Margetts, "Biography of Philip Margetts," 53.

[38]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 2. She states that no distinction was made between actors and the production staff (musicians, doorkeepers, firemen, ushers) after the Salt Lake Theatre opened in 1862. Before that date, her study identifies only actors.

[39]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 159-60, 164, also tells how Brigham Young sent sixteen-year-old Nellie Colebrook's parents a note asking them to let Nellie act, adding, "It would very much please me." He also asked Sara Alexander why she didn't join the company. When she replied, "I don't want to," he responded, "But I want you to!" and she "complied." Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses,* 291.

[40]The ticket lists are reliable evidence of who supported and was involved in the dramatic association. Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 49.

[41]Ibid., 48, 49. Information from ticket lists. Information concerning participation in various plays by particular actors and other members of the dramatic association are detailed in Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor." She identified 293 actors in Salt Lake City during four periods in early Utah drama: 29 in 1850-52; 99 in 1852-56; 15 in 1859-61; and 151 in 1862-69. No information but names could be found for 157 members.

was involved in the theater as a costumer from the moment that he arrived in Zion in the summer of 1850, despite acute shortages of supplies during the first years. His company continued making costumes as theatricals expanded into the Social Hall, the Bowring Theatre, and the Salt Lake Theatre.[42] Londoner Caroline Penn Maiben, wife of actor/artist Henry Maiben, occasionally assisted with women's costumes.[43]

Skills contributed by other London converts include barbering by William Henefer, barbering and wig-making by John Paternoster Squires, and ushering by William C. Staines, a librarian.[44]

ACTORS OF THE DESERET DRAMATIC ASSOCIATION

It is not known what roles Philip Margetts played during performances in the Bowery. By the earliest mention, he was already an established actor, Edward W. Tullidge, in his role as theater critic, wrote with approval:

> During the opening season in the Social Hall, Mr. Margetts became a favorite as a comic and a sentimental singer. He also made a hit as Harry Hammer in "The Golden Farmer," Jerry Clip in "The Widow's Victim," and in various other plays.
>
> "Phil" in his line of comedy, farce, and comic song had by this time become an established favorite of the public, in whose estimation he grew every season, until we ranked him in his line scarcely second to any one in America. Indeed, in some parts, Phil is so unique and irrepressibly

[42]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 139; John S. Lindsay, *Mormons and the Theater* (Salt Lake City: Deseret New Press, 1905), as quoted in ibid., 38, added, "The wardrobe department proper, was presided over by Mr. Claude Clive, an expert tailer, who with his assistants, manufactured all the costumes for the male characters of the plays in the Salt Lake Theatre." Clive's talented daughter, Priscilla Charlotte ("Tottie") Clive was such a proficient dancer that she was an established favorite with the public and a prominent feature of pantomimes by age fifteen. Performers in the Salt Lake Theatre were often the children of the pioneers.

[43]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 95.

[44]Fanny J. Richens and Maxine R. Wright, comps., *Henefer: Our Valley Home* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1959), 28; Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 146; Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 230; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1904), 4:116.

> funny that he may be considered as a type. In the early days we cast him with the great [comics] of the Haymarket Theatre, London.[45]

Mormon converts from London began arriving in Salt Lake Valley in 1851. Among the first was London-born merchant David Candland, who temporarily became an actor, master of ceremonies, and stage manager for the Deseret Dramatic Association.[46]

Henry Maiben, the husband of theater seamstress Caroline Penn, also arrived in 1851, and relaunched an acting career that lasted until the 1870s. The "fancy dancer" of the company, he portrayed Pantaloon and Harlequin in the Christmas pantomimes. His acting background was more professional than that of most citizens of the new territory. Born in Brighton, England, in 1812, he received a beginning college education, painted heraldic arms on carriages, and was also associated with a theatrical company in England. He continued to support his family in the Utah Territory as a carriage painter.[47]

When sixteen-year-old Londoner Mercy Ellen Westwood arrived in St. Louis in 1848, she had no dramatic education or training. Her older brother Phillip was much interested in drama and quickly organized an acting company, in which Mercy appeared for the next five years. She married Henry Tucket, a fellow London emigrant, in St. Louis on 26 March 1852 and was pregnant with her second child when they emigrated to Salt Lake City in 1853. She was reluctant to continue acting because of her children but consented when Brigham Young called her to serve a two-year mission as an actress for the Deseret Dramatic Association. Tall and beautiful, with an abundance of dark brown hair, the talented Mercy was described as

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[45]As quoted in Ralph Margetts, "Biography of Philip Margetts," 25.

[46]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 114.

[47]Carter, "The Salt Lake Theatre," 236-38. Horace G. Whitney (quoted in ibid.) remembered Maiben as "dancer, pantomimist, and singer, the gentle, ever uncomplaining member of the band, who was delightful in all his roles, whether dances, clown, or character old man. He took with a gratified 'thank you' whatever came his way, and no matter how humble the role, he put his best into it." Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 254, recalled Maiben's "graceful gyrations as a dancer," identified him as "the harlequin and comic singer as well as fancy dancer," and said he "was best remembered for his inimitable rendition of 'The Man Who Couldn't Get Warm.'"

"responsive, magnetic, and cheerful—and blessed with a sweet voice." She soon became one of the most successful and popular leading ladies at the Social Hall.[48]

Evidence that Mercy overcame her initial reluctance completely is apparent from her later career. When Johnston's Army established Camp Floyd on the western shore of Utah Lake (currently Cedar Valley), they organized the Military Dramatic Association and invited local participation.[49] Mercy and her brothers, Philip and David Westwood, accepted the invitation. Immensely popular with the soldiers, Mercy always received a standing ovation. In the summer of 1857, the Westwoods went on to the mining camps in Virginia City, Nevada. Henry Tuckett took custody of their children and divorced Mercy who died in Folsom, California, and was buried in an unmarked grave.[50]

Nineteen-year-old Leo Hawkins joined the Deseret Dramatic Association as soon as he arrived on 29 September 1852. On 11 November 1852, he appeared with Ellen Kay, daughter of John Moburn Kay, in a farce called *The Golden Farmer.* The next year, he had another prominent role in *His Last Legs.* Thanks to his award-winning penmanship, he was hired to inscribe the "Records of the History of Joseph Smith," Books D and E, later serving as the secretary to the Utah Territory Legislative Council, the county recorder, a major in the Corps of Topographical Engineers of the Nauvoo Legion, a member of the Agriculture and Manufacturing Society, and a regent for the University of Deseret. In 1854 Leo married Sarah Kay, also a talented actress and daughter of John Moburn Kay. Leo continued to act until shortly before his death of consumption at age twenty-five on 29 May 1859, leaving Sarah and an infant daughter, Ellen. Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith

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[48]Pyper, *Romance of a Playhouse,* 65-66, Ancestral File. Mercy and Henry both came from large London families (Mercy's parents had eight children, and Henry's widowed mother had five), who emigrated on the same ship in 1848. London Conference Records (FHL film 087,014), Theobalds Road Branch Records (087,036), and Whitechapel Branch Records (087,038). Forty-six died of cholera on the ship, while more succumbed in St. Louis. Mercy's older brother, Philip Westwood, organized a dramatic performance to benefit the cholera-stricken families.

[49]Pyper, *The Romance of the Old Playhouse,* 61.

[50]Ibid., 62-67.

spoke at his funeral, which, according to Woodruff, was marked by "one of the Largest processions . . . in this City.[51]

On 18 February 1853, Leo's sister, LaVinia Hawkins, joined the Deseret Dramatic Association and became one of the leading ladies in the Social Hall.[52] She had been engaged to John Hyde, Jr., in London before her family emigrated; and her fiancé joined her in September 1853. Two months later, they were married in the Endowment House.[53] The marriage was not a happy one. John was ambitious and contentious, perhaps jealous of brother-in-law Leo's accepted social position, and, according to his own record, outraged by plural marriage.[54] Still, in March 1856, he composed an original recitation which was delivered by Bernard Snow at a Social Hall evening. LaVinia had appeared as Desdemona in *Othello* two weeks earlier, also singing a number between *Othello* and a farce entitled *Bonnycastles.*[55] What influence the couple's dramatic participation had on their marriage or on Hyde's dissatisfaction with Mormonism cannot be determined; but in late April Hyde accepted a mission call to Hawaii. By the time he reached his destination, he was an avowed anti-Mormon. His exposé, *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*

[51]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 146, 155-56; Sharon G. Pugsley, "The Board of Regents of the University of Utah, 1850-1920: Historical Development and Prosopography" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1984), 147; Endowment House Record, 14 February 1854, Special Collections, Family History Library; Obituary, *Millennial Star* 31 (27 May 1859): 496-97; Woodruff, *Journal,* 5:341. As a sign of the favor in which he was held, Leo also gave an oration on 24 July 1854 in the tabernacle "in behalf of the young men." Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young: The Man and His Work* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press 1937), 223-24.

[52]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 155-56.

[53]President's Office Sealing (marriage) record, 10 November 1853, and Endowment House Endowment Record 10 February 1854, Special Collections, Family History Library. John, LaVinia, and Leo were endowed the same day.

[54]Edward L. Hart, "John Hyde, Junior: An Earlier View," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 309; Richard F. Burton, *City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California,* edited by Fawn M. Brodie (1861; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 230-31; Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, "John Hyde, Jr., Mormon Renegade," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 120-44.

[55]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 146; Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 53.

(New York: W. P. Fetridge & Company, 1857) even included a sarcastic portrayal of Utah theater: "We . . . walk to the Social Hall. This is an adobe building, 73 x 33 feet. In it is performed dramatic representations, from Shakespeare's tragedies to Colman's farces, by a company of unpaid Mormon amateurs. James Ferguson, one of the stars, says 'they excell anything he ever saw in London.' Faith works wonders."[56] After Hyde's excommunication in 1857, LaVinia, acting on counsel from Heber C. Kimball, then first counselor in the First Presidency, obtained a cancellation of her sealing to Hyde, was sealed to as a plural wife to Joseph Woodmansee in 1858, and continued her acting career for many more years, while Hyde returned to England where he became a Swedenborgian minister and died in 1876.[57]

LaVinia's Desdemona was one of the last major productions of the Deseret Dramatic Association. Founders John Moburn Kay, Bernard Snow, James Ferguson, David Candland, and Edward Martin were called on foreign missions. On 1 April 1856, the association disbanded.[58] Before the year's end, Edward Martin would lead a group of English handcart pioneers into suffering and death, due to bad planning and early storms. Sadly, many of the fatalities were close associates of former Londoners of the Deseret Dramatic Association.[59] The next spring, Philip Margetts was one of seventy

[56]John Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*, 36.

[57]Heber C. Kimball, [date of address?], *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 4:165; Burton, *City of the Saints*, LaVinia, who had no known children by Hyde, had seven by Woodmansee. Her sister wife was poet Emily Hill Woodmansee. Salt Lake City 14th Ward, Membership Records (FHL film 026,695). She died on 28 April 1910. Obituary, *Deseret News*, 29 April 1910, 2 (FHL film 026,977); Journal History, 29 April 1910.

[58]Ralph Margetts, "Biography of Philip Margetts," 25.

[59]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 62. Edward Martin, a former member of the Mormon Battalion and a missionary to England, was one of the original organizers of the "Deseret Dramatic Association" and closely involved with the theatrical community before 1856. He did not participate in the Salt Lake Theatre which was not founded until several years after the Martin Handcart disaster. In 1861 he was a painter and glazier, but by 1868 he had opened a photography shop. He died 8 August 1882. The Martin group included several long-time London Branch presidents and their families, close associates to the former Londoners of the Deseret Dramatic Association. Lynne Watkins Jorgensen,

missionaries who pulled handcarts to Florence to prove the efficacy of Brigham Young's handcart experiment. In decent weather, unaccompanied by wagons, and without women, children, and the elderly, the strong young men made the trip in forty-eight days.[60] From Florence Margetts returned to London to proselyte.

MARGETTS'S LONDON MISSION

Margetts's London experience intensified his two passions: his staunch support of Mormonism, and his affection for the theater. On 20 August 1857, he recorded conversations with strangers who were aware of the handcart tragedies, the dispatching of Johnston's Army to quell the supposed rebellion in Utah Territory, and the practice of polygamy, then luridly recounted in the English press. The city was less welcoming to Mormons than it had been in 1840. After attending Theobalds Road Branch, Margetts noted sadly that "most of the saints are spiritually dead." Three months after his arrival, he lamented, "There is no sign of an increase, the work . . . seems at a perfect stand still."[61] Undaunted, he worked diligently to reactivate old members and to convert new ones, insisting that "for all they [Londoners] felt so bitter against the 'Mormons' I took particular Pains to inform them that I was one every inch & felt Proud of the Noble Appaltation [appellation]."[62]

Also serving a British Mission was Bernard Snow, one of Margetts's colleagues from the Deseret Dramatic Association. Together they attended Shakespeare's *The Tempest* at the Princess Theater.[63] When John Hyde's book was published, Margetts stayed up till 2:30 A.M. one morning reading it. Disgustedly he said it was "full of spleen and bitter malace and interspersed with some Black

"The Martin Handcart Disaster: The London Participants," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Fall 1995): 171-200.

[60]Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 159.

[61]Margetts, Journal, 20 August, 22 November 1857.

[62]Ibid., 4 September 1857.

[63]Ibid., 14 November 1857. John Moburn Kay, Bernard Snow, James Ferguson, and William Kimball, also members of the Deseret Dramatic Association, were likewise serving missions in England. Snow was particularly important, active in Old Bowery, Social Hall, Bowring's Theater, and Salt Lake Theatre productions.

and Mallicious falshoods in fact there is but very little original in what I should call the Confused Mass of trash, exibiting plainly the object of its author, namely spite, [word crossed out: harm?] and revenge."[64]

Most important for the cultural scene in Utah in future years, Margetts's London mission intensified his fascination with the theater. On his way to England, he saw two performances of *Hamlet* and "juvenile performers" in St. Louis, then went on to New York where he attended a performance of the Christy Minstrels with T. H. B. Stenhouse, saw a new five-act drama, *Fazio,* attended an unnamed opera, and attended a performance by Bryant's Minstrels.[65]

In London, he notes in his diary which theater he attended and usually who the chief actors were. From his arrival in late August 1857 until his departure in mid-January 1858, he attended thirteen performances: *The Honeymoon, Much Ado About Nothing, Hamlet, The Tempest, Clandestine Marriage, John Jones, The Tempest, Macbeth, War Trail, Lady's Battle,* a second performance of *Hamlet,* an unnamed comedy, and an unnamed play at the Princess.[66] He did so as a knowledgeable and critical observer. *The Honeymoon,* he disapprovingly wrote, was "most fully murdered." "More beautiful sight my eyes ever saw or beheld" than *The Tempest.* The performance in an unnamed play by "two celebrated comedians, Paul Bedford and Mr. Wright," was "beautiful and scenery magnificent." The next night, he engaged in a heated discussion over the proper interpretation of a scene in *Macbeth. Lady's Battle* was the "most magnificent pantomime I ever witnessed." Charles Kean's "conception" of *Hamlet* was "beautiful in the extreme." Of particular importance was a performance at Astley's Amphitheatre of *War Trail,* about which Margetts commented, "Beautiful piece, excellent horse riding and [sceans] in the circle. . . . Walked home to Camden Town feeling truly thankful for a little enjoyment in London."[67]

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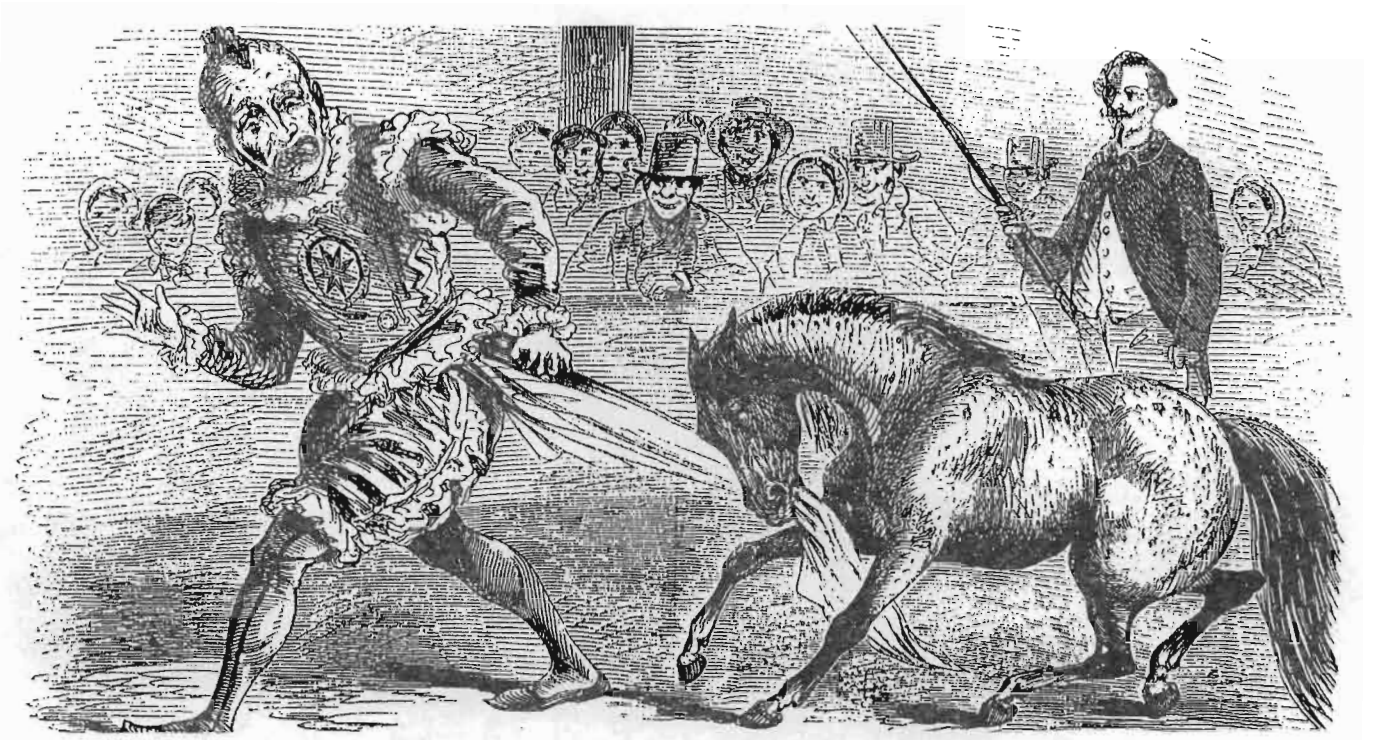
[64]Ibid., 3 November 1857.

[65]Ibid., 18, 27, 29, 30 June, 3 July 1857.

[66]Ibid., 31 August, 8 and 12 September, 13, 14, 16, and 17 November 1857, and 8, 11, and 14 January 1858.

[67]Ibid., 31 August and 14, 17, 18, 19 November 1857; 11, 14 January 1858.



Clown and horse act at Ashley's Amphitheatre, London, that Margetts and Bartholomew recreated in Utah. The Illustrated Mayhew's, *London, 249.*

BARTHOLOMEW'S CIRCUS

Because of Brigham Young's evacuation of Salt Lake City due to the presence of Johnston's Army, the town was still deserted in May 1858 when Margetts returned. Margetts's family was living in Utah County; and during the hot summer of 1858, plagued by economic stress, Margetts met a man of some mystery. George Bartholomew organized a circus at Fillmore in central Utah, primarily to amuse the bored soldiers at Camp Floyd whose pockets jingled with unspendable coins. He started north, recruiting performers. Margetts quickly signed on and used his natural agility and strength in a dare-devil, double somersault from a spring board over the backs of fourteen horses standing side by side.[68]

Remembering his evening at Astley's, Margetts and Bartholomew, a talented animal trainer, recreated the *War Trail,* a "clown and horse-in-the-circle" act which became the centerpiece when the circus performed for the soldiers at Camp Floyd and in other small Utah towns.[69] Bartholomew had trained a beautiful and intelligent colt, Young America, to perform extraordinary tricks. As a climax to Young America's performance, Philip and George developed a comedy routine. Bartholomew, as ringmaster, attempted to get the horse to execute a particularly difficult trick. Meanwhile Philip, dressed as a clown, would sneak into the ring and try to steal the corn which was the animal's reward, causing the horse

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Astley's Amphitheatre on Westminster Bridge Road was a large equestrian ring theater where clowns including Grimaldi, acrobats, magicians, sword fights, and exotic melodramas were presented in addition to horse shows. Charles Dickens liked it and wrote about it in *Sketches by Boz.* Originally built in 1769, Astley's Amphitheatre burned three times. It was restored for the last time in 1841 and demolished in 1893. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, *The London Encyclopaedia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 29.

[68]Philip Margetts, "My Rise and Progress," as quoted in Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 95-97.

[69] Kirk Anderson, ed., *Valley Tan,* 9 November 1859, 2 (FHL film 1486773). Notice in Camp Floyd newspaper verified, "We have received news from Camp Floyd within the past week written chiefly in regard to the public exhibitions and performances of the 'Musical, Dramatic, and Circus' companies at Camp Floyd. We advise all who visit the Camp [Floyd] to attend the performance of these three different Associations." This publication originated from Camp Floyd but was published in Salt Lake City in 1858 and 1859.

to prick up his ears and shake his head angrily whenever Phil appeared. Then as Phil stole away with the corn, the beautiful animal pursued him round and round the ring until he dropped the corn and somersaulted out of the circle.[70]

One person who observed the performance with glee was eight-year-old Philip Margetts, Jr. He remembered that, in a variation of the act, Young America chased Margetts around the ring, nipping him on the derriere. Young Philip remembered roaring with laughter along with the rest of the audience.[71]

When Bartholomew's circus finished its prosperous season late in October 1858, he moved it out of the territory, probably to California. Margetts returned to his Salt Lake home, his wagon piled high with "a good deal of the substance he had earned; namely hams, bacon, sugar, flour, and blankets."[72]

THE MECHANICS' DRAMATIC ASSOCIATION AND BOWRING'S THEATRE

Margetts returned to blacksmithing for the next year and a half; but in 1860, he and seventeen friends, only three of whom had been involved with the Deseret Dramatic Association, organized the Mechanics' Dramatic Association. It was a private organization, not sanctioned by the Church nor publicly encouraged by Brigham Young, although there is no record of opposition. Obviously the name came from the Mechanics' Dramatic Association which Margetts remembered from his youth in London. The name also reflected the fact that the new members were amateurs, working men and women with a love for theater.

One of the seventeen founders, Henry Bowring, was an American convert. With his wife Marion, he became involved first at the Social Hall and continued his dramatic interests for many years, dying in Brigham City in 1903.[73] He and Marion were building a home on First South between Third and Fourth East, but no internal

[70]Philip Margetts, "My Rise and Progress," as quoted in Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 95-97.

[71]As quoted in ibid., 97.

[72]Ibid., 95-97.

[73]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse*, 253, 255.

A ticket signed by Margetts to a performance in Bowring's Theatre.

room partitions had been constructed. They offered the ground floor for an auditorium, finished circus-like with a small stage and rising tiers of lumber seats that would hold about a hundred viewers. The Bowring Theater was the first structure in Utah Territory to be identified as a real "theatre" and the first to promote "tragedy."[74]

Its first public review came from a somewhat reluctant and unnamed correspondent for the *Deseret News,* who wrote, on 20 February 1861: "After having received many invitations to witness some of their performances, we concluded to attend one night last week. 'Luke the Laborer' was very creditably performed, which with a few comic and sentimental songs, made the evening's entertainment quite interesting."[75]

Other Londoners rallied round. William Poulter, whose London occupation was identified as a "French Polisher" and plasterer, was a talented actor and performed the highland fling between acts.[76] Awl-maker William V. Morris painted new scenery, wings,

[74]Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 68-72.

[75]"Theatrical Amusements," *Deseret News,* 20 February 1861, 408 (FHL film 026,589).

[76]Poulter belonged to the Marylebone Branch, the Theobalds Road Branch,

curtain, and a back drop that replaced a painted calico curtain.[77] Claude Clive again made costumes, and LaVinia Hawkins Hyde Woodmansee returned to the stage both as a leading lady and in character parts.[78]

Margetts and Poulter visited Brigham Young in his office in February or March 1861 and invited Young and his family to a future performance. Evidently planning to catch them without special preparation, Young announced that he and Kimball would attend that evening's performance of *Luke the Laborer.* He was greatly pleased by the performance; and Margetts gave him ninety tickets so the Young and Kimball families could all attend. They filled the little auditorium. At the close of the successful performance, Margetts made a formal speech of thanks to President Young apologizing for the humble accommodations; in return, Young, from the audience, made a reply praising the Mechanics' Dramatic Association.[79]

As a direct consequence, Young told his son-in-law, Hiram B. Clawson, who had also been involved in theatricals since Nauvoo, to reorganize the Deseret Dramatic Association under Church sponsorship and unite it with Margetts's company. He also promised to build a great theater, for "the people must have amusements," and jocularly described himself as the "designer and general dictator of the whole affair."[80] The Bowring Theatre was thus an important transition to the justly famed full-fledged Salt Lake Theatre.[81]

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and the London Conference; Frank Eshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneer Book Publishing Company, 1913), 1111. According to British census records, a French polisher was a skilled artisan who applied a gum resin in alcohol to cabinetry, walls, or furniture to make a glossy finish.

[77]*Our Pioneer Heritage,* 5:216. See also Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 68. The London thespians quickly put awl maker William V. Morris to work after he finally arrived in the Valley. The increasing popularity of the Mechanics' Dramatic Association and the later reorganized Deseret Dramatic Association in support of the new Salt Lake Theatre made it possible for them to replace the calico curtains with painted scenery.

[78]Carter, "The Salt Lake Theatre," 5:230; Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* 742; Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 155-56.

[79]Ibid., 71; Ralph Margetts, *Biography of Philip Margetts,* 104-6; and Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* 739.

[80]Young, *Journal of Discourses,* 1:312-13; Whitney, *History of Utah,* 1:501;

THE SALT LAKE THEATRE

The Salt Lake Theatre, designed by William Folsom and constructed by Hiram B. Clawson was begun in July 1861 and was ready for its first performance in March 1862. Clawson consulted Margetts, Poulter, Maiben, and Morris from the Mechanics' Dramatic Association about the needs of a proper theater. London-trained architect E. L. T. Harrison, an admirer of the Drury Lane Theatre, was given responsibility for the interior work.[82] Harrison tried to duplicate the "architectural treatment to the interior . . . including the boxes with their lacy filigree."[83] The galleries and the elaborate ceiling were finished by former London artists William V. Morris and Henry Maiben.[84]

"It was," according to Samuel Bowles, editor of the *Springfield Republican*, "one of the most beautiful theatrical structures in America. It ranks alike in capacity and elegance of structure and finish along with the . . . houses . . . of Boston, New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati."[85] John Paternoster Squires called it "the largest and most imposing structure in the territory."[86] Those invited to the gala opening were General Authorities, civic officials, the "mechanics" who had worked on the building or were to appear on the stage, and

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Historian's Office Journal, 15 February and 21 August 1861, LDS Church Archives.

[81]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 71.

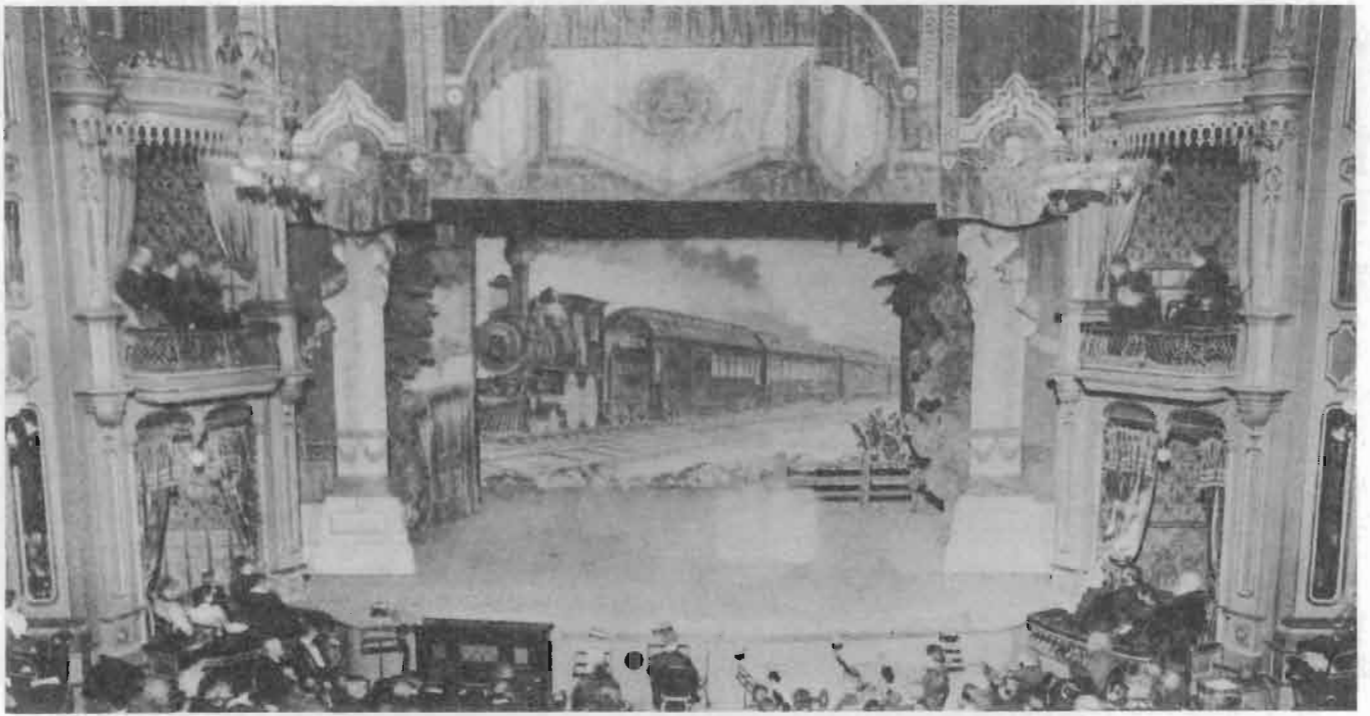
[82]Brigham Young joined Woodruff and Heber C. Kimball, and they attended the Royal Theatre (Drury Lane Theatre) at Covent Garden during his unforgettable and significant eleven-day visit to London. Woodruff, *Journal,* 1:573, 7 December 1840.

[83]Hiram B. Clawson, address to Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 20 March 1907, as quoted in Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 75-76, 80.

[84]Ibid., 76-77. William V. Morris, Henry Maiben, George M. Ottinger, and Alfred Lambourne were the theater's scene painters until at least the 1870s and were also founding members of the Deseret Academy of Arts, organized 25 July 1863. Journal History, 25 July 1863. Morris also painted the ceiling decorations of the auditorium, which remained intact until the building was razed in 1928. Morris died 2 June 1878. "Obituary," *Deseret News,* 19 June 1878. See also Ronald W. Walker and Alexander M. Starr, "Shattering the Vase: The Razing of the Salt Lake Theatre," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Salt Lake City: Winter 1989): 64-88.

[85]Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific States* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865), 103.

[86]As quoted in Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 279-80.



Interior of Salt Lake Theatre showing elaborate architecture, filigree decoration, and painted backdrop. Utah State Historical Society

their families. The auditorium was crowded from pit to roof, many having difficulty getting in.[87] Daniel H. Wells, a counselor in the First Presidency, delivered a dedicatory prayer so long and detailed that one of his wives, Louisa Free Wells, commented wryly that he "ought to have left out some of the lath and plaster."[88]

On stage that first night were Henry Maiben, the artist/actor/dancer as Baron Troptard, and LaVinia Hawkins Hyde Woodmansee as Mademoiselle de Volange in *The Pride of the Market,* which opened the bill.[89] In *The Tailor of Tamworth,* the farce that concluded the evening's performance, Margetts played Humphrey Hedgehog, the comic landlord of the Black Bull Inn.[90] Morris, Clive, Caroline Penn Maiben, Bernard Snow, William Poulter, William C. Staines, and John Paternoster Squires were all listed in the playbills as working behind the scenes.[91]

From its completion until his death in 1877, Brigham Young was the dominating voice in its policies and performances. On occasion, he was also stage manager, costumer, hair dresser, and fire marshall.[92] Several of Young's daughters participated as an example to reluctant parents of talented young players, and he did not hesitate to use his authority to "requisition" needed personnel, players, and artisans.[93] Tullidge observed:

> From the opening of the Salt Lake Theater, civilization in the Rocky

[87]Ibid., 85.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Maiben appeared in the Salt Lake Theatre over three hundred times before his death in 1883 of pneumonia. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* 762.

[90]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 155-56. During the theater's first year of operation, she appeared in nine different plays: as Florence in *Ireland As It Was* on 2 December 1862; as Marie, an orphan in *The Marble Heart,* 19 December 1862; Mrs Flighty, an easy, confiding wife in *The Married Rake* (n.d.). The next year and a half she played nineteen times. During later engagements, she usually played second leading ladies, and her name is not found after 1868.

[91]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 94, 95, 230. Squires, Brigham Young's barber, at Young's request, cut off James McDonald's curly black locks to make a wig for a leading lady. See also John Paternoster Squires, "Notes to the Descendants of Thomas Squires by His Son," typescript (FHL book Q 929.273 Sq582).

[92]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 227.

[93]Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses,* 291.

> Mountains received a fresh impulse. Brigham Young was president of the association; his daughters played upon the stage; Mormon elders were the actors; Mormon elders painted the scenes and constituted the orchestra; managers were [Hiram B.] Clawson and John T. Caine; and apostles, patriarchs, high priests and elders filled the parquette and the private boxes with their families.[94]

Professional actors from eastern America and Europe performed in this beautiful theater in the wilderness, which matched in elegance and facilities any large urban playhouse. The first three seasons lasted six weeks, eighteen weeks, and twelve weeks during the spring of 1862, winter to late spring of 1862-63, and the fall and winter of 1863. Performances were two nights a week, began at 5:30 p.m., and nearly always, every seat was filled by performance time and audience members ate meals between acts. On cold nights, patrons dished hot soup out of buckets.[95] Ticket-takers accepted produce or work script as payment for a ticket. The usual evening's bill was a standard play, an olio (a miscellany of short entr'acte performances or sketches), and a farce—clearly the enthusiastic audience's favorite part of the program.[96]

CONCLUSION

The London converts who participated in the glory days of the Salt Lake Theatre had been teenagers in England. Now they were facing middle age.[97] They had lived through death, disease, war, Indian attacks, handcart disasters, hunger, poverty, and the apostasy of some associates. Perhaps the Salt Lake Theatre awakened memories of their beloved London theaters. As they gazed at each new scene through the smoky haze from 350 oil lamps, did they imagine the Salt Lake Theater magically turned into the Drury Lane Theater with its balconies decorated with lacy fili-

[94]Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* 742.

[95]Ibid., 93, 124; Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 100-104.

[96]Ibid., 93. Compare ibid., and Hibbert, *London: The Biography of a City,* 174-76.

[97]Winifred Snell Margetts, "A Study of the Salt Lake City Actor," 301. Before 1862, 55 percent of the members of the dramatic societies were ages 26-40. After the construction of the Salt Lake Theatre, most of the members were younger.

gree?[98] If only for a moment, the sounds, sights, and smells might have made them young again.

Margetts proudly recalled that "we had in our midst some of the best mechanics, best artist-musicians, and a great many others possessing a wonderful amount of dramatic talent, consequently we were prepared to commence right in our efforts to form a stock company that in after years was considered second to none west of New York City."[99]

[98]Pyper, *Romance of an Old Playhouse,* 134. In 1872 the oil lamps were replaced by gas lamps.

[99]Philip Margetts, "Early Theatricals in Utah," *Juvenile Instructor* 38 (15 May 1903): 291.

"Every Thing Is Favourable! And God Is On Our Side": Samuel Brannan and the Conquest of California

Will Bagley

To hell with poverty I go for riches, as I went to California an[d] told Brigh[am] Young in Salt Lake in (47) forty seven. Now is the time to strike, when every thing is favourable! and God is on our side.

–Samuel Brannan[1]

IT WAS A LONG, HOT SUMMER in the city of New York in 1845. In mid-July, "the thermometer rose to 101 in the shade. Six fell dead in the street from the heat."[2] In this torrid atmosphere, a strange collection of schemers met to plot the fate of California. They were

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[1]Samuel Brannan, Letter to Jesse C. Little, 6 March 1885, Samuel Brannan Papers, Vault MSS 37, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

[2]"Odds and Ends," *New York Messenger,* 19 July 1845, 24.

Lansford Warren Hastings, Samuel Brannan, and Thomas Jefferson Farnham, businessmen and brothers Arthur W. and Alfred G. Benson, and Amos Kendall, a former cabinet officer under Andrew Jackson and still-ambitious man. All six shared a deep interest in deciding the future of the distant Mexican province. They hoped to lure to the West Coast thousands of American emigrants who would help them establish a Republic of California—or, in Brannan's case, the Kingdom of God. Elements of the plan extended back to covert policies implemented by President John Tyler in 1841; and the scheme eventually involved merchants in Boston and New York, the leaders of the Mormon Church, and the administration of James K. Polk in a secret effort to use federal government funds to underwrite American emigration to the West Coast.

Mormon chronicler B. H. Roberts discussed this episode in detail in his histories of the LDS Church, but more recent historians have refrained from wrestling with what Roberts called a "conspiracy to bond the Saints on the Pacific slope."[3] Dale Morgan analyzed the evidence in his classic study *Overland in 1846* and commented, "There is a great deal more here than meets the eye."[4]

The adventure involved a fascinating cast of characters and shows how deeply the American government and the LDS Church were involved in Manifest Destiny, with both church and state trying to use each other for their own ends. In addition, the search for a solution to this mystery provides an example of how material in Mormon sources can shed light on larger issues in American history. The quest for documentation about this 150-year-old puzzle turned up records of the first efforts of the American government to subsidize western expansion. Perhaps most remarkably, the evidence reveals a highly "confidential" operation with remarkable

[3]B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 3:33. Roberts also included many documents related to the scheme in his editing of Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932), 7:587-91.

[4]Dale L. Morgan, *Overland in 1846,* 2 vols. (Georgetown, Calif: Talisman Press, 1963), 1:26 28, 36-38; and Dale L. Morgan, Letter to Virginia Sorenson, 29 December 1943, Dale L. Morgan Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

parallels to "covert operations" of the 1980s, in which government officials used private enterprise to further a controversial foreign policy.

The summer of 1845 was a heady moment in the history of the young American republic. The Texas congress had accepted terms for admission to the union, and Mexico had recalled its minister to Washington to protest the annexation. President Polk was sparring with Britain for a settlement of the "Oregon question" that had generated his 1844 campaign slogan, "54-40 or Fight!" Although the government of *moderado* José Joaquin de Herrera recognized the futility of conflict with the United States, public opinion forced the general to threaten war if the union was consummated. War fever raged in America, too, and was especially virulent in New York, where, that July, John L. O'Sullivan, a Democratic editor, coined the "felicitous phrase" Manifest Destiny.[5]

Political chaos in California, racked with conflict between its civil and military authorities and connected to Mexico by only the thinnest of threads, created apprehension in Washington. American consul (and secret agent) Thomas Larkin's reports aroused fear that England and France would acquire the territory. A growing awareness of California's strategic value fed this paranoia. In March, Daniel Webster had asserted, "The port of San Francisco would be twenty times as valuable to us as all of Texas."[6]

What the government perceived as a threat, others viewed as an opportunity. Almost every American who had ever visited California was laying plans for its conquest, but the men who met in

[5]As quoted in Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 255. The most vivid evocation of the period remains Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943). Frederick Merk produced the classic analysis of expansionism in *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). Ray Allen Billington dedicated *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1949) to Merk. Gene M. Brack, *Mexico Views Manifest Destiny, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), explores the Mexican political situation. Norman A. Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1955), provides a commercial interpretation of Manifest Destiny.

[6]Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific*, 99, 108-109.

New York that summer were determined and well-connected. In June, Lansford Hastings presented three lectures at the Croton Hall to "to put forth in their true light the advantages and inducements" that Oregon and California held out to the "immigrating community."[7] Although still in his mid-twenties, Hastings had already passed the Ohio bar and had led an emigrant company overland to Oregon in 1842. He visited California the next year and claimed to have formed an alliance with land baron John Sutter. Sutter's majordomo, John Bidwell, recalled that Hastings "desired to wrest the country from Mexico" and "was ambitious to make California a republic and to be its first president." In 1845 Hastings was in New York touting his newly published *Emigrants' Guide, to Oregon and California,* which promoted California as a paradise on Earth and minimized the risks of overland travel.[8]

Hastings met Thomas Farnham, a fellow author and lawyer with Washington connections, who had recently published his own book, *Travels in the Californias.* In 1839, Farnham went to Oregon by way of the Santa Fé Trail, Brown's Hole, and Fort Hall. After a short stay in Oregon, Farnham took a ship to Hawaii and California, crossing Mexico in May 1840 on his return to the United States. Evaluating Farnham's adventures, no less an authority than Henry Wagner concluded, "It seems that Farnham was an agent for the U.S. Government."[9]

In the spring and summer of 1845, Samuel Brannan, an ambitious New York publisher, printer, land-jobber, and Mormon preacher, became one of the driving forces behind this strange venture. H. H. Bancroft outlined the story in 1886:

> [Brannan] discovered, or pretended to have discovered, that the government would probably take steps to prevent the Mormon migration, on the ground that they intended to take sides with either Mexico or England against the United States. But the shrewd Samuel also discovered a remedy for all prospective misfortune. He learned that Amos Kendall and certain influential associates, acting through one Benson as agent,

[7]"Oregon and California," *New-York Daily Tribune,* 24 June 1845, 2.

[8]Will Bagley, "Lansford W. Hastings: Scoundrel or Visionary?" *Overland Journal* 12 (Spring 1994): 12-26.

[9]Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1921), 48.

> and claiming President Polk as a "silent party" to the project, would undertake to prevent all interference if the Mormon leaders would sign an agreement "to transfer to A. G. Benson & Co. the odd numbers of all the lands and town lots they may acquire."

Bancroft was unable to decipher Brannan's motives but noted that Lansford Hastings was an agent in the affair.[10]

Samuel Brannan—whose middle initial is sometimes given as "S," sometimes as "L,"—is one of the most colorful characters among the many exotic men and women attracted to early Mormonism. Born in Saco, Maine, in 1819 to Irish emigrant Thomas Brannan and Sarah Knox Emery Brannan, Sam Brannan had his first contact with Mormonism probably in September 1832 when Joseph Smith's brother Samuel and his missionary companion, Orson Hyde, visited Saco and stayed at the Brannan house. In 1833, Brannan, then fourteen, moved to Kirtland, Ohio, with his sister, Mary Ann Badlam, and her husband, Alexander. Brannan joined the LDS Church in Kirtland, where he served an apprenticeship in the Church printing offices.[11] By his own account, the young man "resided for nearly three years in the family of Joseph Smith, Jr."[12] The Prophet's son, Joseph Smith III, included young Brannan among his earliest recollections of "men, things, and events" at Kirtland: "Brannan and [Ebenezer] Robinson were young men and were either inmates of my Father's house or frequent visitors therein."[13] Young Joseph's memory confirms that Brannan had an earlier and much more

[10]Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California,* 7 vols. (San Francisco: History Company, 1886), 5:547-48.

[11]Samuel Harrison Smith, Diary, February 1832-May 1833, MS 4213, Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); Orson Hyde, Journal, 1832, MS 1386, fd. 1, LDS Church Archives; and Oliver Cowdery, Letter to Phinehas Young, 14 February 1847, in Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery, Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), 253; Eugene E. Campbell, "The Apostasy of Samuel Brannan," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (April 1959): 158. See "A Short Brannan Bibliography" at the end of this article for a survey of Brannan biographies.

[12][Samuel C. Damon], "Joseph Smith, jr., Founder of 'Church of Later-Day-Saints,' (or Mormons)'" *Honolulu Friend,* 1 July 1846, 100. Damon had this information "on the authority of Mr. Brannan."

[13]Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed., "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832-1914)," *Saints' Herald,* 6 November 1934, 1, 414.

intimate association with Mormonism in general and with Joseph Smith in particular than he would later admit, and hints at the profound influence the Mormon prophet had on his young disciple.

Brannan joined the land craze that swept Kirtland in 1836 and "came out of his speculations nearly as he went into them—without a cent." During long wanderings as a tramp printer, "he visited most of the States in the Union, staying a month in one town, two months in another, and perhaps half a year in some more important place."[14] He settled briefly in Indianapolis where he appears to have edited a newspaper and dabbled in Jacksonian politics. By December 1843, Brannan was a Mormon missionary and wrote to Apostle Wilford Woodruff from Ohio trumpeting "the onward progress of this glorious kingdom of the 'eleventh hour dispensation.'" He boasted that he had added "between 60 and 70 in good standing" to the "Kingdom of our God."[15]

In the spring of 1844, Brannan was spreading the gospel to the skeptical and generally indifferent citizens of the city of New York. He was also deeply involved in Democratic party politics, and he gained enough influence to share in the spoils of the election of James K. Polk in the fall.[16] Brannan made a great reputation as one of the "Young Lions of Mormonism" and, in the summer of 1844, took over as publisher of *The Prophet,* an LDS newspaper in New York. He was eventually appointed presiding elder of the New York branch of the Church.[17] Less benignly, as Morgan points out, Brannan was in league "with a devious New York merchant, A. G. Benson."[18]

Benson was a Pacific merchant who had a trading station in

[14]Dorothy H. Higgens, ed., *The Annals of San Francisco by Frank Soule, John H. Gihon, M.D., and James Nisbet. Together with the Continuation, through 1855* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Lewis Osborne, 1966), 748-49.

[15]*Times and Seasons* 5 (1 January 1844): 388. This letter is signed "S. Braman," but it is a typo. The volume's table of contents lists Brannan's name correctly.

[16]Brannan boasted he had "obtained a situation in the Custom House" for Elijah Schwackhamer, which paid $1,100 a year. Brannan, Letter to Brigham Young, 22 July 1845, Brigham Young Collection, MS 1234, LDS Church Archives.

[17]Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 132.

[18]Morgan, *Overland in 1846,* 1:26.

Oregon that competed with the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Vancouver. His impressive political connections knew no party bounds. Under the Tyler administration, brothers Arthur W. and Alfred G. Benson sold millions of board feet of "pumpkin pine" to the Navy. In 1841, the Bensons contracted with the Navy Department "in furtherance of a national policy entered upon by the executive administration, pursuant to a cabinet decision, to establish a line of transport ships to the Oregon Territory, conveying fifty passengers by each trip without charge." In return, this confidential agreement gave the Bensons "the benefit of transporting all government supplies to the Pacific at the rate of $3 per barrel freight," fifty cents more than the going rate. This remarkable arrangement amounted to a secret government subsidy of emigration to Oregon. "This arrangement was specified in a confidential letter from the then Secretary of the Navy," and "in a written statement, also confidentially put on file by President Tyler." During an investigation of the Bensons' naval lumber contracts, Tyler's "confidential letter" could not be found, despite a "diligent search." The former president had to explain that the "prominent inducement" for the "arrangement" was free transportation to Oregon for Americans "male and female–the latter the more important." Tyler believed the contract subsidizing American emigration to Oregon was "highly acceptable" and had been "faithfully execute[d]."[19]

The interests of Benson & Co. collided with the new Polk administration in March 1845 when Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft canceled the Bensons' lucrative contract delivering supplies to the Pacific Squadron and emigrants to Oregon. Bancroft determined that the contract was "unauthorized by law" and terminated the arrangement. "By this act of ill-faith on the part of the government," the Benson brothers felt they had "suffered large damage."[20] To save their sweetheart deal, the Bensons turned to

[19]Historians have failed to note this 1841 subsidy of Oregon emigration by the Tyler administration. For details, see the Report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, 3 March 1851, Senate Document 319 (31-2), 1-3. For the price of freight and Tyler's 26 February 1845 letter recounting the Oregon arrangement, see "Letter from the Secretary of the Navy," 3 March 1845, House Document 161 (28-2), 21-22.

[20]Committee on Naval Affairs, "Report," 3 March 1851, Senate Document 319 (31-2), 1. This committee dealt with the Benson brothers' memorial.

Amos Kendall, a close friend of Andrew Jackson and postmaster general from 1835 to 1840. A Dartmouth graduate, Kendall established a politically powerful newspaper in Kentucky and became an influential member of Jackson's kitchen cabinet. He reformed the postal system during his five years as postmaster general and was said to be "the most capable and successful of the Jackson appointees," but one contemporary critic said he was Jackson's "*lying* machine" and called Kendall "a diabolical genius."[21] During the spring of 1845, Kendall, then age fifty-five, was a busy man. At Jackson's suggestion, he drafted James K. Polk's inaugural address. He lobbied to take over Washington Irving's position as ambassador to Spain, remarking candidly, "I need rest and want money." In the end, Kendall received no federal office, but he "seemed to be satisfied" managing Samuel F. B. Morse's business interests in New York. Kendall persuaded Morse that he would never convince Congress to fund his new invention but that the telegraph had great promise as a business. Together they established the Magnetic Telegraph Company, the original ancestor of all modern telecommunications empires, which would finally make both men rich.[22]

Kendall had fought an expensive law suit related to his government service and was attempting to recoup his fortunes as a lobbyist and entrepreneur. Interested by Benson's financial arrangements, he brought his considerable skill and power to bear on Benson's problem, and protested to Polk that "in the present position of the Oregon question, it was exceedingly unpolitic to disturb that arrangement," especially since the "arrangement has been for years in practical operation." He warned that Illinois Senator Sidney Breese was angered and wrote to a political ally: "When I return to Washington next winter I intend the administration shall know there is a

[21]Eugene Irving McCormac, *James K. Polk: A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922), 127. The best analysis of Kendall's career is Terry L. Shoptaugh, "Amos Kendall: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1984), but it has nothing new on Kendall's relationship with the Mormons. William Stickney, ed., *The Autobiography of Amos Kendall* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1872) is his son-in-law's useless selection of Kendall's papers, the originals of which were destroyed in a fire in 1894.

[22]Charles Sellers, *James K. Polk, Continentalist, 1843-46* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), 272-73.

west & possessed of important interests." Kendall counseled, "Our leading friends in the West have long been appraized [of the contract] and have informed the emigrants that they would be able to obtain axes, ploughs, hoes, and other farming utensils at the store of Messrs. Bensons in Oregon."[23]

President Polk already had a detailed–and secret–plan for the American acquisition of California. Many years later, George Bancroft wrote that Polk had confided that securing California was one of the four goals the president had set for his administration. Polk hoped to encourage the Californians to establish a republic that would eventually be annexed to the United States–a strategy widely called "the Texas game." Perhaps as an outgrowth of his work for Benson, Kendall assumed an unofficial role looking out for the president's secret California policy, again acting as "ringmaster behind the scenes."[24]

George Bancroft was intimately involved in Polk's plans to annex California and quietly enlisted support among private firms with an interest in the Mexican province. He asked the Boston firm of William Appleton & Company to supply a cover story for confidential agent Archibald Gillespie, who carried dispatches to Thomas Larkin and unknown messages for John C. Frémont.[25] Brannan's January 1846 report to Brigham Young indicated that other Boston interests also had an eye on California: "In Boston there are a set of Ambicious numbsculls if I might so call them, clubed together to purchase a vessel but it cannot be done on the principle they have started upon therefore it must fall through."[26]

No accounts survive of whatever meetings took place among Kendall, the Benson brothers, Brannan, Parley P. Pratt, Farnham, and Hastings in New York in June and July of 1845, but all of them were in New York and it is possible to decipher their plans from

[23]George Bancroft, Letter to Sidney Breese; Breese, Letter to Colonel E. D. Taylor, 18 May 1845; and Kendall, Letter to Polk, 8 June 1845, James K. Polk Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[24]DeVoto, *The Year of Decision,* 240.

[25]John Adam Hussey, "The Origin of the Gillespie Mission," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 19 (March 1940): 43-58.

[26]Brannan, Letter to Young, 26 January 1846, Brigham Young Collection.

their surviving correspondence. Hastings and Farnham believed that they could inspire as many as 20,000 Americans to head for California in 1846. With this support, they would establish a Republic of California. Hastings told the *New-York Tribune,* "The independence of California, as respects Mexico, has been settled in the minds of her people . . . in [Hastings's] judgment a majority of the present inhabitants . . . are averse to dependence on any distant power and resolved on a government of their own or of uniting Oregon and California in one Free Republic."[27]

Hastings left New York on 6 July, carrying a letter Thomas Farnham had written to Californian John Marsh. Farnham assured Marsh, "I can write no person in California, without expressing the strongest desire of my heart, to wit, that the 'Republic of California' should arise." He described the plan: "From 10 to 20 thousand emigrants will enter California next summer. There will then be population enough to authorise the step; & we shall have force for any contingency." Hastings wrote Marsh, "Friend Farnham is doing everything in his power to increase the emigration to this far-famed region, and he is of the opinion that he will be able to bring at least three or four thousand from the State of New York alone." Farnham even outlined a schedule: "Neither Europe or the States are yet prepared for that event. The excitement consequent on the admission of Texas into the Union must have time to abate. The winter of 46 will do."[28]

Hastings had planned to return to California by sea but instead decided to offer his services as a guide to the many emigrants he fantasized were gathered at Independence. He promised to conduct them "with entire safety, either to Oregon or California, and that too, in the short space of three months."[29] Hastings also hoped to meet with senior Mormon leaders in Nauvoo but never made the

[27]"Oregon and California," *New-York Daily Tribune,* 11 June 1844, 2.

[28]Hastings, Letter to Marsh, 26 March 1846; and Farnham, Letter to Marsh, 6 July 1845, in John A. Hawgood, ed., *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California* (Palo Alto, Calif: Pacific Books, 1970), 23-24, 52.

[29]"Oregon and California," *New-York Daily Tribune,* 24 June 1845, 2. Instead of 90 days, it would take Hastings's pack train 132 days to reach Sutter's Fort. Dale Morgan, *Overland in 1846,* 1:30, called this a "foolhardy undertaking, summing up Hastings' extensive ignorance."

trip.[30] Hastings planned to lecture in the "principal cities" on his route. The *Western Expositor* reported he left Independence for California on 15 August 1845.[31]

Hastings spread tales that thousands of Mormons were bound for California even before he arrived in the Mexican province. Three months on the trail saw his pack train straggling into Fort Hall in a starving condition. Hudson's Bay Company trader Richard Grant reported, "By the arrival of a Mr Hastings and party in November on their way to Calefornia I was informed that several thousands of Mormons were making great preparations in the States to steer their course [this] ensuing summer to the Promised Land which they say is Calefornia."[32] With borrowed supplies, Hastings made an extremely lucky crossing of the Sierra in December, arriving at Sutter's Fort on Christmas day. Jacob Leese, an American who had arrived in California in 1833, reported Hastings's arrival to Thomas Larkin on 12 January 1846:

> Capt Hastings has jest arived at Sutters, from the U.S. by land with 10 men. He says he has found a road through the Stoney Mountains 400 miles shorter than has ever been traveled.[33] A Larg Emigration will be through this summer. A Company has been formed in New York Called the Califa. Agriculturing Co/a. Two Shipps sailed in August last for this with all Kinds of cultavating implements & Seeds. For this purpose Capt H. has come a head to enter the Shipps and make arrangements. I should

[30]See Brannan, Letter to Brigham Young, 22 July 1845, Brigham Young Collection. When the *New York Messenger* serialized Hastings's book, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* reprinted the introduction, "Mr. Hastings has recently been lecturing in this city," without citation, leading a host of venerable LDS historians to believe that Hastings had, in fact, visited Nauvoo; however, an 1861 Hastings letter in the Brigham Young Collection proves that Hastings had never met Young.

[31]"Oregon and California," *New-York Tribune,* 24 June 1845, 2; and Morgan, *Overland in 1846,* 1:29.

[32]Richard Grant, Letter to George Simpson, 2 January 1846, D.5/16, fo. 25, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[33]John C. Frémont actually discovered this "road through the Stoney Mountains." His Third Expedition crossed the Great Salt Lake Desert in October 1845, and Lt. Theodore H. Talbot subsequently led a detachment of Frémont's men to the Humboldt River and the California Trail. Frémont and Hastings probably met at Sutter's Fort in January 1846; see Morgan, *Overland in 1846,* 1:45-48 for details. Morgan discussed Frémont's 24 January 1846 letter to his wife, which made outlandish claims for the route that became the Hastings Cutoff.

> think that they are at Monterey by this time. I do not giv you this as a fact. You do get it as I do by report.[34]

Hastings wrote San Francisco merchant William Leidesdorff, asking him to pay shipping charges and store any property he might receive from ships "of the house of Benson, of New York."[35] Larkin reported to Secretary of State James Buchanan on 2 April that Hastings was "laying off a Town at New Helvetia for the Mormons." Hastings's vision of an oncoming horde of Latter-day Saints quickly swept through California. By late March, the French consul had heard that the Mormons were "to march towards California, which has been designated to them as the promised land where they are to develop their belief and multiply their posterity. This invasion, announced for the next summer, has thrown fear and anxiety into the minds of the Californians."[36] John A. Sutter wrote Larkin, "The next fall will be a powerfull Emigration here. It is started from 10 to 20,000 which hardly I can believe. I think if 2 or 3000 would come it would be a great many."[37]

Hastings wrote Larkin on 3 March 1846, summarizing the conspiracy and its intentions. He assured the consul that emigration "will not consist of less than twenty thousand souls," including "our friend Farnham, and many other highly respectable and intelligent gentlemen." Hastings added, "The house of Benson & Co. is about to establish an extension commercial house." He described the Bensons' canceled contract: "Thousands of emigrants will find their way thither, especially, as that house proposed to bring all emigrants to this country, and to Oregon, free of charge, they furnishing their own provisions." In conspiratorial tones, he noted, "This latter arrangement is a confidential, governmental arrangement. The expense thus incured is not borne by that house, but by our

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[34]George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California*, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951-68), 4:161, 276.

[35]Morgan, *Overland in 1846*, 1:36 37.

[36]A. P. Nasatir, "The French Consulate in California, 1843-56," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 9 (December 1932), 355.

[37]J. A. Sutter, Letter to T. O. Larkin, 2 March 1846, in Hammond, *Larkin Papers*, 4:219. Sutter was correct: the 1846 overland emigration to California totaled only about 1,500 souls. Morgan, *Overland in 1846*, 1:116.

government, for the promotion of what object, you will readily perceive."[38]

Meanwhile, on the East Coast, Brannan serialized excerpts from Hastings's *Emigrants' Guide* in the *New York Messenger* from 12 July to 6 September, and inserted an interesting filler in August: "Plans are now secretly in operation to establish an independent government in Oregon."[39] On the political front, Brannan had remarkable insights into Polk's plans for Mexico. In mid-September 1845, the *Messenger* marked out the "future course of the United States." If Mexico did nothing over the next two months, the United States "will send a commissioner to Mexico to lay down the boundary of the two countries. If Mexico refuses to receive the commissioner, and blindly turns away from a peac[e]able settlement, then her [U.S.] forces will immediately occupy the mouth and borders of the Rio Grande, and establish that as the boundary, whether or no."[40] This prediction described subsequent American policy with uncanny accuracy.

Historians have long pondered when the Latter-day Saints identified the Great Basin as their destination in the West. As early as January 1845, LDS leaders had named California as a possible haven for their people. (They were then considering emigrating to the West Coast, but it is important to recall that in 1845 "California" was the name applied to all Mexican lands west of the Rocky Mountains and north of New Mexico.) On 22 August, Brigham Young wrote to Addison Pratt, a missionary in Polynesia, providing the first general outline of his plans for Mormonism's western migration. Young directed "the brethren of the islands [who] wish to emigrate to the continent" to go to "the mouth of the Columbia river in Oregon, or the Gulph of Montery, or St. Francisco, as we shall have commence[d] forming a settlement in that region during next season." Young intended to "make arrangements with agents in each of those places" to direct and supply emigrants to the main LDS settlement, which "will probably be in the neighborhood of

[38]L. W. Hastings, Letter to T. O. Larkin, 2 March 1846, in Hammond, *Larkin Papers*, 4:220-21.

[39][item without headline], *New York Messenger*, 23 August 1845, 60.

[40]"Yet to Be," *New York Messenger*, 20 September 1845, 92.

Lake Tampanogos [Utah Lake] as that is represented as a most delightful district and [there is] no settlement near there."[41] On 28 August 1845, the apostles decided to send 3,000 men and their families to California in 1846.[42]

By mid-September 1845, the Mormons in Illinois were fighting a virtual civil war with their angry neighbors. Brigham Young wrote to Brannan, "I wish you together with your press paper and ten thousand of the brethren were now in California at the Bay of St. Francisco, and if you can clear yourself and go there do so and we will meet you there."[43] In early November, Brannan received orders to organize a seaborne emigration to California. At the same time, Mormon leaders in Nauvoo received reports—probably from Brannan—that "the apostates are trying to get an influence with the President of the United States to prevent the Saints emigrating westward, and that they have written to the President informing him of the resolutions of the general council to move westward, and representing the council guilty of treason."[44]

Thomas Farnham had established wider relations with the LDS leaders in New York. No one has ever been able to link any Mormons save Samuel Brannan with the Benson scheme, but Dale Morgan was almost certainly correct in concluding that other "Mormon authorities" were involved.[45] Through the summer of 1845, Parley P. Pratt was Brannan's publishing partner and ecclesiastical superior, and he probably carried news of the California arrangements to his fellow apostles when he returned to Nauvoo in late August. By October, Farnham had extended his net to catch Orson Pratt, the new senior Mormon leader in the East, who wrote skeptically to Brigham Young:

> Mr. Farnham the Author of several works on Oregon, California, &c. has

[41]Brigham Young, Letter to Addison Pratt, 22 August 1845, Brigham Young Collection.

[42]Journal History, 28 August 1845.

[43]Young, Letter to Brannan, 15 September 1845, Brigham Young Collection.

[44]Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 29 October 1845, LDS Church Archives.

[45]Morgan, *Overland in 1846,* 1:26.

> been to visit me a number of times. I have just this moment had an interview with him. He starts in about one week for California and apparently feels very anxious to have us locate in that country & professes to be willing to render us any assistance in his power. But I thought in my heart that we have had enough of Gentile assistance & that the time has nearly arrived for us to assist ourselves.[46]

In Washington, Amos Kendall brought an enthusiastic Samuel J. Hastings, a Boston seafarer and veteran of the California trade but no known relative of Lansford Hastings, into the intrigue. The sea captain wrote Thomas Larkin in November 1845 that a new flag would fly over California, and "it will be an American one or a new one & American Agents and American capital will be at the bottom of it."[47] Kendall, "learning that he had been in California took him to see Mr Polk who kept him in talk some two hours."[48] S. J. Hastings noted, "California must belong to the Americans. So say the knowing ones at Washington & even Mr Polk thinks it must come to pass. Whether in his time or not he did not say. I was in company with him & he questioned me closely abt the Country."[49]

While Kendall and the Bensons were using the Mormons for their own purposes, the Saints had their own underlying motives. Early planning of the Mormon emigration was directed by the Council of Fifty, a secret organization established to create a theocratic government known as the Kingdom of God; Brannan's brother-in-law, Alexander Badlam, was a charter member of the organization, as were Young, the Pratt brothers, and William Smith.[50] Smith, the Church's disaffected patriarch and brother of its

[46]Orson Pratt, Letter to Young, 21 October 1845, Brigham Young Collection.

[47]S. J. Hastings, Letter to T. O. Larkin, 9 November 1845, in Hammond, *Larkin Papers*, 4:92.

[48]F. D. Atherton, Letter to T. O. Larkin, 3 December 1846, in ibid., 5:290.

[49]S. J. Hastings, Letter to T. O. Larkin, 22 January 1846, in ibid., 4:177. Hastings sent this letter to California on the *Brooklyn*, noting, "Here the people consider themselves well off to get rid of" the Mormons. Samuel J. Hastings visited Brigham Young in February 1846 and proposed to take LDS emigrants to California for "$150.00 including provisions." B. H. Roberts, *History of the Church*, 7:598, mistakenly referred to Samuel J. Hastings as the "Pathfinder of the West," an improbable honorific aimed at Lansford W. Hastings.

[50]For the Council of Fifty, see Klaus J. Hanson, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State

martyred prophet, told the *New York Sun* that the Saints planned "to set up an independent government somewhere in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, or near California."[51] Upon reaching California in August 1846, one of Brannan's emigrants told William Dane Phelps, "they are to establish a great Republic of their own, extend their dominion over the shores of the Pacific and eventually spread their faith over the whole of India & China."[52] Brannan even carried a flag with him to California that he intended to raise over the conquered territory.[53]

As winter began, Brannan promoted Mormon interests in Washington, D.C. Many years later, he told a reporter a grandiloquent account of what came next:

> The Mexican Consul told Mr. Brannan that if the vessel ever sailed, it would be sunk before it reached the island of Cuba. Hearing this Mr. Brannan went directly to Washington, arriving after midnight. He went direct[ly] to the Executive Mansion, roused Mr. Polk, and related the Mexican Consuls statement to him. The President thereupon sent for the members of his Cabinet, who met at 2 oclock that night and discussed the situation. The Mexican Consuls statements were considered as a declaration of war on the part of Mexico, and Mr. Brannan was told that if he should decide to take his vessel around the Horn, the United States ship Congress, under Commodore Stockton, should accompany and protect him. Accordingly, the Brooklyn sailed from New York on February 4th 1846, destined for San Francisco via Honolulu.[54]

While this bizarre tale is filtered through forty-two years of Brannan's brandy-soaked memory and a newspaper reporter, it contains elements of truth. Brannan had visited Washington in March 1845 and reported, "Our visit to the President was decidedly satisfactory and quite interesting."[55] *The Prophet,* 5 April 1845, 1.

University Press, 1967), 105-120; and D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 105-41.

[51]*New York Sun,* reprinted in "The Mormons," *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 18 (1 December 1845): 1,052.

[52]Brinton Cooper Busch, ed., *Frémont's Private Navy: The 1846 Journal of Captain William Dane Phelps* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1987), 44.

[53]Apostle Orson Hyde warned Brannan, "The standard which you took with you, do not exhibit, till the council of the church have approved of it." Hyde, Letter to Brannan, 5 September 1846, Orson Hyde Papers, MS 1386, LDS Church Archives.

[54]"A Strange Career," *Sacramento Bee,* 21 January 1888, 1.

Later that month, he bragged to Wilford Woodruff, "I have also obtained quite an influence on the part of the executive of the General Government in our behalf."[56] Brannan returned to the capital in the fall of 1845 and wrote in his newspaper:

> During our last visit to Washington, we were informed by the President, that a law would be passed by this Congress, under some general head (The Navy Department) affording facilities for the poor in the eastern countries to emigrate to Oregon or the North West Coast. From the interest manifested by the Western members in Congress in favor of such a law, we have not the least doubt but what it will be done, and a highway cast up for the deliverance of God's people.[57]

Brannan's article indicated that the Bensons' deal was well on its way to revival. However, dark forces still appeared to combine against the Mormons. On 11 December, Brigham Young

> called the Twelve and bishops together and informed them that he had received a letter from Brother Samuel Brannan, stating that he had been at Washington and had learned that the secretary of war and other members of the cabinet were laying plans and were determined to prevent the Saints from moving west, alleging that it was against the law for an armed body of men to go from the United States to any other government. They say it will not do to let the Mormons go to California nor Oregon, neither will it do to let them tarry in the states, and they must be obliterated from the face of the earth.[58]

It was this rumor that prompted Young to accelerate his plans to evacuate Nauvoo "when grass grew." He began the LDS exodus to the West in early February rather than waiting for better weather conditions, a decision which resulted in untold suffering. In New York, Brannan worked to drum up support for reviving the Bensons' shady naval supply contract and his own California venture. He published an unsigned letter "To his Excellency," the President:

> Samuel Brannan, the agent of our company, consisting of between two and three hundred farmers and mechanics, had made a conditional

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[55]"Washington,170

[56]Brannan, Letter to Woodruff, 13 March 1845, Wilford Woodruff Papers, MS 1352, LDS Church Archives.

[57]"Washington," *New York Messenger,* 15 December 1845, 1.

[58]*History of the Church,* 7:544. The manuscript letter is not in the LDS Church Archives.

> arrangement with the Messres Benson of New York to take fifty of our number to Oregon for nothing, and the balance at very low rates; but we were informed by him that they have been disappointed in obtaining the freight from the government on which their offer was based.[59]

Brannan assembled some 230 Mormon passengers and chartered the *Brooklyn,* publicly announcing their destination as Oregon, but privately informing his flock that they were bound for California. A. G. Benson secured 500 barrels of freight for Honolulu. Shortly before the departure of the *Brooklyn,* Brannan sent Brigham Young a letter summarizing problems with Farnham's character and outlining Farnham's plans for genocide:

> You suggested that you should stop and put in a crop before you reached California. Such a course I presume you considered policy for your safety—but I never should do it from the suggestion of Farnum—he is a man that is a friend to those who will serve him for power—I have learned that he is blotted out of the books of Mr. Kendall and Benson. They look upon him as a man of no stable principle—and have instructed me if he is troublesome to put him down and I shall do so. His doctrine is to annihilate the native Californians with the sword—if he attempts to carry it out on my arrival their I shall joine the oppressed, and if we can win the natives to our own side, all will go well.

One of the leading motives of the schemers was to make money. Brannan also passed on the details of this plan:

> Hastings and Capt Sutter will go with me, and no mistake the country is ours, we shall have a strong and ruling party in this country that will back us, politically and commercially—I shall select the most suitable spot on the Bay of Francisco for the location of a city a Commercial City—Mr. Benson and other Merchants in this City are to open a trade with us—And the United States Mail will land at our own place.

Brannan openly announced his visions of military glory and his alliance with A. G. Benson to make sure he would have the necessary hardware:

> My company consists of a noble hearted set of men and they are all armed to the teeth and before they reach their, they will have learned how to use them—I shall have 14 pieces of cannon at my command, that Mr. Benson sent to the Sandwich Islands about four months ago[60]—I shall

[59]"To His Excellency, The President of the United States, James K. Polk," *New York Messenger Extra,* 13 December 1845, 1.

> take them with me from their, as I shall stop their to discharge about $1000 worth of freigh[t]. You must never admit you are going to California till you have reached the South Pass, and there you must rush right through—This is the council on the part of the Government—[61]

Amos Kendall drafted the contract that accompanied this letter. It stated that the Mormons had determined to become "a nucleus on the shores of the Pacific, around which a new state shall grow up." According to Brannan, Kendall would use "his influence in our behalf in connection with twenty-five of the most prominent demagogues in the country." The contract read, "A. G. Benson states that he has it in his power to correct any misrepresentations which may be made to the president of the United States, and prevent any authorized interference with them on their journey, and also to extend to them facilities for emigration, especially by sea, and afford there great commercial facilities and advantages at their new homes." Benson promised to "facilitate trade with them in their new settlement, and promote emigration to strengthen them." What Benson wanted in exchange was land: if the Mormons should "acquire lands from the said United States or from any other source, then one-half of the said lands shall belong and be conveyed to the said Benson, and those whom by written contract, he may have associated with him." Brannan and A. W. Benson signed one draft of the contract. (On a second draft, the parties entered their initials—backwards.) Brannan warned, "Everything must be kept as silent as death on our part—names of the parties in particular." He told Young, "This is the only copy of the original which I have filled out. It is no gammon but will be carried through if you say amen. . . . It was drawn up by Kendall's own hand but no person must be known but Mr. Benson."[62]

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[60]Joseph Downey, who watched the *Brooklyn* unload its cargo at Yerba Buena, corroborated: "Last though not least, three beautiful pieces of brass cannon, six pounders, mounted in the style of light artillery, with the necessary complement of powder and shot, round, fixed and grape. . . . These cannon were pressed into the service of the United States." See Fred Blackburn Rogers, ed., *Filings from an Old Saw: Reminiscences of San Francisco and California's Conquest by "Filings"-Joseph T. Downey* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1956), 47. Downey's eyewitness account raises an intriguing question: Who bought the six cannons?

[61]Brannan, Letter to Young, 26 January 1846, Brigham Young Collection.

Brigham Young bluntly rejected the contract, deeming it "a plan of political demagogues to rob the Latter-day Saints of millions and compel them to submit to it, by threats of federal bayonets." B. H. Roberts's summary of this situation concludes: "The council did not deign to reply to 'A. G. Benson, Kendall and Co.' or take further notice of the incident; it was closed, so far as the twelve were concerned, and it is not traceable further."[63]

However, at least one apostle, Wilford Woodruff, took considerable notice of Benson & Co. In March 1846, Woodruff, obviously pleased with Benson, wrote Jesse C. Little, the new president of the LDS Church in the East, that he "had a long interview with Mr. Benson yesterday and he exceedingly desires to do business with us he says if he does it for nothing. I was much pleased with my interview with him. He appears to me to be a gentleman. I think it will be well to keep upon good terms with him as far as possible. . . . He apparently manifests much interest in our welfare."[64]

Following the declaration of war with Mexico, Amos Kendall acted as a middleman between Polk and Little in the meetings that led to the authorization of the Mormon Battalion. Little reported from Washington in early October 1846, "[Kendall] is friendly & says that if any time he can do us any good that he shall be happy to help us and do it freely and without Expecting any thing in return."[65]

It is somewhat surprising that, despite the rejection of the Brannan contract, Benson and Kendall seemed delighted to do business with the Mormons "for nothing," and Kendall delivered tremendous political support to the Saints. The Mormon Battalion, and the government pay it generated, proved the financial salvation of the LDS Church. Yet Kendall, of course, was merely manipulating the Mormons to support the Bensons' business interests and Polk's California policy. Once the Mexican War was underway, "it was in

[62]The Brigham Young Collection contains three manuscript copies of the contract. For the edited text, see *History of the Church,* 7:587-91.

[63]B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. (1930; Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1965), 3:36.

[64]Wilford Woodruff, Letter to Jesse C. Little, 27 March 1846, A662, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[65]J. C. Little, Letter to Young, 6 October 1846, Brigham Young Collection.

a conversation with Kendall about the Mormons" that ward-politician Jonathan Stevenson conceived the idea of sending a regiment of New York volunteers to counterbalance Mormon influence in California.[66]

Brigham Young had a unique perspective on the affair: he held that it was part of a larger conspiracy by Senator Thomas Hart Benton and Secretary of War William Marcy to exterminate the Mormons. Young claimed that if the Saints had refused to enlist the Mormon Battalion, "Missouri was ready with 3000 men, to have swept the Saints out of existence on attempting to cross the Missouri River."[67] In 1858, Wilford Woodruff recorded the significance Young attached to the Brannan-Benson contract:

> We read to [Brigham Young] the Article of agreement Between Mr Benson of New York & Samuel Brannan drawn up By Amos Kendel. President Young said not [to] put it in [the] History But Copy it in a Book & seal it up stating on the outside of it what it is & let it lie untill we want it. It may be 20 years hence. He said President Polk was at the Bottom of it and Poke wanted to give the Mormons a grant of Land some whare in the west. But secretary Marcy opposed him strongly & said if he did He would resign & do all he Could against him.[68]

Young "let it lie" for eighteen years, then released part of the Brannan correspondence and the contract to his biographer, Edward Tullidge, whose book was the source for H. H. Bancroft's later account.[69] Tullidge explicitly stated that Benson identified Polk as a "silent party" in the affair, but nothing in the surviving Brannan-Young correspondence confirms the president's direct involvement. Young's opinion, however, entered the documentary record.

Evaluating Polk's role in this circus comes down to one's assessment of the man and his presidency. Polk's diary shows he wanted to acquire the province peacefully, but some historians

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[66]Bancroft, *History of California*, 5:472, 501.

[67]Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1997), 243.

[68]Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenny, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85): 5:233-34.

[69]Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young; or, Utah and Her Founders* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1876), 20.

believe he provoked a war to rob Mexico of California. Yet Polk's friend, Thomas Hart Benton observed, "Never were men at the head of a government less imbued with military spirit, or more addicted to intrigue."[70] Furthermore, Polk had no identifiable financial interest in the affair, but he wanted Americans in California, and his support of the scheme is in character with his "addiction" to intrigue.

For most of the schemers, the complicated plot was a dismal failure. Farnham and Hastings failed to inspire more than a small fraction of the emigration they envisioned for 1846. Brannan and his followers arrived in San Francisco three weeks too late to fulfill his dreams of conquest. The declaration of war with Mexico outran the plot's schedule, and their dream of a Republic of California died in June 1846 when American naval commanders executed Polk's standing orders to occupy California in the event of war. Still, the conspirators played no small role in history. Farnham died of "intermittent fever" in San Francisco in 1848, leaving a widow, Eliza W. Farnham, who pursued a literary career.[71] A. G. Benson continued to prosper, shipping naval stores to California and "introducing a fertilizer of great value" into American agriculture: guano.[72] Amos Kendall was instrumental in the development of the transcontinental telegraph, became a noted philanthropist, and helped found Gallaudet College for the deaf in Washington, D.C., in 1864.[73]

Lansford Hastings traveled east in the spring of 1846, hoping to meet the Mormons and lead them over his new shortcut to California and glory. Tragically, Hastings's eagerness and ambition—coupled with a casual regard for the truth—led the Donner-Reed wagon party to their fate in the Sierra.

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[70]Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View; or, A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850,* 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856), 2:680.

[71]Proto-feminist Eliza Farnham tried to recruit a shipload of women to join her 1849 trip to California to settle her husband's estate, but only three "migrating ladies" joined her. See Kristin Johnson, ed., *"Unfortunate Emigrants": Narratives of the Donner Party* (Logan: Utah State University Prerss, 1996), 136.

[72]Senate Document 397 (34-3) 891, 246. With this enterprise, A. G. Benson perhaps invented "agribusiness."

[73]Terry L. Shoptaugh, "Amos Kendall: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1984), 377-80.

Sam Brannan raised money to rescue the Donner party and left California in April 1847 to cross the Great Basin with three companions to meet Brigham Young on Green River. Young rejected his plea to go to California but supported him as president of the "Saints in California." By 1848, Brannan had wearied of Mormonism and told his flock "of a gold mine being found by Brother Willis and gave his advice for all to go and work in it."[74] He bade them farewell on the evening of 10 May, the day he ignited the gold rush by charging up Montgomery Street yelling, "Gold! Gold from the American River."

Brannan made a vast fortune and earned a bitter reputation among Latter-day Saints as an apostate, but in March 1849 he claimed the LDS Church authorities "have forsaken me." He complained:

> I Have Been Here three years and over and Received No acount only What i traveled Clear to the Salt Lake after. No one Ever thought Enough of Me During my Long Stay here to Wright to Me and in fact i am unable to See What i Was Sent here for unless it Was to Get me out of the Way Suposing it Being a Spanish Country i Would Be Kiled.[75]

Brannan went on to become "the richest man in California," pursuing a "most remarkable career as capitalist and speculator" before an 1870 divorce wrecked his financial empire. Brannan already "had given himself up to strong drink," and "for 20 years or more he was rarely sober after noon."[76] Parley P. Pratt disfellowshipped him in 1851, but in May 1883 Brannan denounced a *Deseret News* story that Pratt had prophesied Brannan "shall not die till he is in want of ten cents to buy a loaf of bread." Brannan said he had never seen Pratt in California, and if Pratt made the prophecy, "he must have been drunk or crazy."[77] Yet Brannan rehabilitated himself

[74]John Borrowman, Journal, 10 May 1848, typescript, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

[75]Brannan, Letter to Mrs. [Mary Ann Brannan] Badlam, 13 March 1849, copy of letter in unknown handwriting, LDS Church Archives. Wilford Woodruff noted on the letter fold, "Copy of Samuel Brannan Letter to Mrs. Badlam" and the address specified, "to be opened by PP Pratt, and John Taylor and forwarded on the President."

[76]Bancroft, *History of California*, 2:728.

[77]"Prophesy Fulfilled," *Deseret Evening News*, 8 March 1883, 3; and "Sam

and spent his last ten years trying to exploit a Mexican land grant in Sonora, enlisting his old ally Jesse Little to conquer "an Empire of our own" that he hoped to people with Mormon settlers.[78] Brannan never quit dreaming, but he died on 5 May 1889 in Escondido, California, in pretty much the state that Parley Pratt was said to have predicted. Mormon writers have long used Brannan's rise and fall as a cautionary tale to apostates, but on his death even the *Deseret News* had to admit, "He had some redeeming qualities, and it is to be hoped that these will outweigh the faults which were manifest in his adventurous and eventful life."[79]

One of the great ironies of this story is that Brannan, Hastings, Farnham—and Brigham Young—had no inkling that in June 1845 President Polk had issued orders to his naval commanders in the Pacific to seize California if they learned of war with Mexico. Through American consul and agent Thomas Larkin, James Polk came within an ace of achieving his fondest hope, a quiet revolution that would liberate California and begin its peaceful annexation to the United States. Claiming that he was acting on presidential orders, John C. Frémont blundered through the Bear Flag revolt that ended these plans, but the declaration of war with Mexico permitted the United States to acquire California more or less legitimately. The inscrutable James Knox Polk had planned for any contingency, and the ultimate triumph of this tale is his, for by 1848 California belonged to the United States.

A Short Brannan Bibliography

Samuel Brannan's life is so encrusted with legend—much of it invented by him to obscure his early connection with Mormonism—that it is difficult to get to the facts.

Eugene E. Campbell, "The Apostasy of Samuel Brannan," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (April 1959): 156-67, is the best summary of Brannan's life, but no credible full-length biography exists. Writing to Virginia Sorenson on 29 December 1943, Dale L. Morgan characterized one Brannan biogra-

Brannan . . . Denounces the Mormons as Base Liars," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune,* 31 May 1883, 3.

[78]Samuel Brannan, Letter to Jesse C. Little, 24 November 1885, Samuel Brannan Papers, Vault MSS 37, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[79]As quoted in Roberts, *Comprehensive History,* 3:39.

phy as "terrible," and his assessment that it was "slipshod romantic history with pseudo-scientific paraphernalia in the shape of footnotes" is equally applicable to its companions. James A. B. Scherer, *The First Forty-Niner and the Story of the Golden Tea-Caddy* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1925) codified much Brannan mythology. Morgan wrote Sorenson on 1 November 1941 that Scherer's book "could not well have less information about a man and still purport to be a biography of him." Paul Bailey's *Sam Brannan and the California Mormons* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1943) went through two subsequent editions. Reva Scott, *Samuel Brannan and the Golden Fleece* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1944), is neither a good novel nor trustworthy history. Louis J. Stellman, *Sam Brannan, Builder of San Francisco* (New York: Exposition Press, 1953), was republished (Fairfield, Calif.: James Stevenson Publisher, 1996) with an introduction by Kevin Starr and a preface by Al Shumate. The Stellman and Bailey biographies could contest for the title "best of a bad lot."

Beyond the already cited work of B. H. Roberts, H. H. Bancroft, and Dale Morgan, few scholars have dealt with the Benson-Kendall-Brannan "conspiracy to bond the Saints." However, Lewis Clark Christian, "A Study of Mormon Knowledge of the Far West Prior to the Exodus," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1972), made a very credible survey of the available sources, which he expanded in "A Study of Mormon Westward Migration Between February 1846 and July 1847 with an Emphasis and Evaluation of the Factors that Led to the Mormons' Choice of the Salt Lake Valley as the Site of Their Initial Colony," (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1976). Christian, however, cited a 26 December 1845 letter from Brigham Young to Samuel Brannan that does not exist; the letter was actually written to E. D. Barnard of Chicago. Ronald K. Esplin, "'A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982), 103, also attributed this letter to Brannan, and the mistake has propagated through the literature.

The most credible scholarship on Brannan is Florence McClure Dunlap, "Samuel Brannan" (M.A. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1928); W. Ray Luce, "Samuel Brannan: Speculator in Mexican Lands" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968); Andrew F. Rolle, "California Filibustering and the Hawaiian Kingdom," *Pacific Historical Review* 19 (August 1950): 251-63; Kevin J. Mullen, *Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989); and Newell G. Bringhurst, "Sam Brannan and His Forgotten Final Years," forthcoming in the *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly.*

Keeping Company with Wilford Woodruff

Thomas G. Alexander

LONGER AGO THAN I LIKE TO REMEMBER I took a Utah history class from George Ellsworth at Utah State University. A brilliant and exemplary teacher, George taught me a great deal about pedagogy and about Utah's past. One thing he said stuck with me after I graduated. He told the class that Wilford Woodruff's journals were the most comprehensive of those kept by Latter-day Saint leaders during the nineteenth century.

I remembered George's comment; and since I taught and researched in Utah history myself, I wanted to learn more about Woodruff. The opportunity came during 1973 and 1974 as I considered various topics for my address as president of the Mormon History Association. At the time, I had become interested in the variety of religious experiences. My own experience and most religious experiences I read or heard about led me to believe that among the Mormons such experiences must be episodic—relatively infrequent and somewhat unrelated to each other.

Various pieces of evidence confirmed that perception. At the

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time, I was serving as assistant executive secretary in the Edgemont Stake. As missionaries returned to report to the stake presidency and high council, President Richard A. Call usually asked them to tell about their spiritual experiences. These talks told me something about the religious experiences of others. They also confirmed my impression that religious experiences were episodic.

Thus, personal experience and such knowledge as I had of the experiences of others had left me with little sense of the continuity of spiritual experiences or of the integration of religious and temporal experience. Yet it seemed probable—at least with extraordinary people like Joseph Smith—that such integration must have taken place.

Given the contrast between my own experience and the experiences I heard from others on the one hand and what I thought must be the experience of some extraordinary people, I began to think of questions for which I wanted answers. Some of them were: What was the nature of religious experiences? Does the substance of such experiences change over the life of the individual? How do the experiences affect the temporal life and activities of the person who has them? How do religious experiences affect those influenced by the person who has them?

My curiosity for an answer to these and other questions led me to read widely in the literature. I decided that for the presidential address I would to try to understand religious experience in general and Mormon religious experiences in particular and to produce a case study of Wilford Woodruff's religious experiences. I hired Jessie Embry, then a graduate student at Brigham Young University, to help with the research. The paper I delivered as my presidential address eventually appeared as "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experience."[1]

The research affected me in a number of ways. Let me suggest two. First, it changed my own perception of religious experiences, and, second, it led me to question the views about Wilford Woodruff that I found in the literature and in popular perceptions in the Mormon community.

Let me address the second problem as a way into the first. As

[1]*Church History* 45 (March 1976): 56-69.

we examine the popular views of Wilford Woodruff in the LDS community, three images seem to have predominated. To some extent each is correct, but both singly and collectively they offer at best a partial, and, at worst, an inaccurate image of a brilliant and extraordinary man and prophet. I found a man much at variance with these images from my first acquaintance with him as I read in his diary during the early 1970s and from further research and reflection as I wrote the biography *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* in the late 1980s and early 1990s.[2]

One of these images, which is current among some in the LDS academic community interprets Woodruff as a poorly educated and poverty-stricken but competent farmer and miller.[3] Undeniably, Woodruff was successful as a farmer and miller. He worked on his father's farm in Avon, Connecticut. He and his brother Azmon bought farms for themselves in Richland, New York, and he ran farms at other places. Woodruff also operated flour mills in Farmington, Avon, Collinsville, and New Hartford, Connecticut.

I was not surprised when I learned that Woodruff achieved considerable recognition as a progressive farmer in the Salt Lake Valley. By June 1857 Woodruff had imported and grafted seventy-one different kinds of apples and a large variety of fruit including apricots, peaches, grapes, and currants. In a book about his tour in the American West and his visit to Salt Lake City, Richard Burton, the renowned world traveler and adventurer, commented on the excellence of Woodruff's Salt Lake City farm.[4]

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[2](Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991). A revised second edition followed in 1993.

[3]See Marvin S. Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 16: "There is a good deal of evidence that many, if not most, early Mormons were men and women of modest means and little formal education. Such notables as Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, Parley P. Pratt, and Lyman Wight were poor farmers or artisans barely finding the funds to meet their needs in the 1830s. Young was a carpenter and jack-of-all trades, Woodruff a miller, Taylor an apprentice cooper, Snow a 'sufer' of hardships in his youth, Wight a participant in Sidney Rigdon's pre-Mormon communal experiment."

[4]Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to*

A second aspect of this simple-farmer perception is the erroneous interpretation that Woodruff really owed his success as Church president to his first counselor, George Q. Cannon.[5] Those who hold this view typically see Cannon as a shrewd wheeler-dealer who reveled in the rough and tumble of political and economic life. Many of this persuasion also seem to believe that it was actually Cannon who carried on the critical negotiations and had a determining influence on decisions made during the Woodruff presidency.

Readers should not interpret my criticism of this view to denigrate Cannon's competence or achievement. Cannon was a man of extraordinary brilliance, perseverance, and ability. Moreover, he devoted his life to the LDS Church and, during Wood-ruff's administration, to its president. Cannon's political and business acumen opened access to Western and national political leaders for Mormons, and his diverse enterprises acquainted him with business leaders from throughout the nation.

Nevertheless, Cannon was Woodruff's counselor, not Woodruff's leader, much less his manipulator. Nor was he a prime minister to a president who—like a British monarch—reigned but did not rule. The two of them loved each other, and they worked harmoniously together for the good of the Church and the Mormon people.[6]

California, edited by Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963), 401.

[5]I identify this view most closely with Edward Leo Lyman and D. Michael Quinn. Again, I may have misinterpreted Lyman's views, but my perception is that he tends to give much more credit to Cannon than to Woodruff. In his discussion, for instance, of the introduction of Isaac Trumbo and Alexander Badlam into the fight for Utah statehood, he mentions the Bullion-Beck mine, Cannon, and Hiram B. Clawson's connection with Trumbo. He does not mention Woodruff's connection with Badlam. E. Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 72-74. Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books and Smith Research Associates, 1997), 45-50, leaves the impression that he believes Cannon dominated the First Presidency, though he cited Woodruff's actions in issuing the Manifesto and sees Woodruff as on top of events during the early 1890s. The principal evidence he cites is from 1898 shortly before Woodruff's death.

[6]For a discussion of some of the difficulties, see my "'To Maintain Harmony': Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon*

In the negotiations with California political leaders that the Church conducted after John Taylor's death, for instance, Cannon knew Californians Isaac Trumbo and Alexander Badlam from previous business and political association. Woodruff did not meet Trumbo until 15 September 1887, but he had a longstanding relationship with Badlam, whose family had moved to California from Boston. Badlam was a lapsed Mormon, the brother-in-law of Samuel Brannan, and a family friend whom Woodruff had known since he served as mission president in New England during the late 1840s.

Working together, Badlam and Trumbo greased the wheels that carried Woodruff, Cannon, and other Church leaders into the offices of California's political elite. In addition, the two Californians carried on one phase of the ultimately unsuccessful battle for Congressional ratification of Utah's proposed 1887 constitution.[7] Trumbo and Badlam worked under the direction of the Church leaders with Woodruff as president of the Quorum of the Twelve after John Taylor's death in July 1887 and, after April 1889, with Woodruff as Church president. Woodruff's journals and correspondence show that he also worked with other Church leaders in planning the various political and economic tactics that led to the opening of Mormon society and culture and to eventual statehood for Utah. He was not simply a figurehead who followed Cannon's lead.

The second partial image of Wilford Woodruff is that of an inspired and successful missionary. While accurate, the emphasis on this perception without an understanding of the other dimensions of Woodruff's character conveys an image just as inaccurate as does the interpretation of Woodruff as only a successful farmer or of George Q. Cannon as astute prime minister to Woodruff as lackluster reigning monarch. Woodruff succeeded admirably in his efforts to convert people to the gospel during his missions to the Upper South, to New England, and especially to England. I owe my own

Thought 15 (Winter 1982): 44-58.

[7]For a consideration of their activities, see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

membership in the Church in part to Woodruff, since, in Tennessee, he first taught Randolph Alexander, my great-great grandfather,[8] later baptized by David Patton. In England, Woodruff's success in converting whole congregations in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and northern Gloucestershire marks him as one of the most successful missionaries during the extraordinary service of the Twelve in Great Britain in the early 1840s—indeed, in the history of the Church.[9]

The third image—that of a deeply spiritual visionary—is also accurate, but it too portrays only one facet of Woodruff's complex character. Though many in the Mormon community undoubtedly know him best for the 1877 visions in the St. George Temple of deceased dignitaries who asked for vicarious temple ordinances, he governed his whole life in part through spiritual experiences. The visions of a local prophet—Robert Mason—of Simsbury, Connecticut, a town just north of Woodruff's hometown of Avon helped to shape his early attitudes toward religion.

Spiritual experiences continued to guide him later as well. In July 1849 in central Iowa, en route to the Salt Lake Valley, Woodruff obeyed an impression to move his children, mules, and wagon from beneath a giant oak tree. A storm pounded the oak "with great fury," knocking it to the ground. By heeding these impressions, he saved the lives of his children and animals.[10]

Other experiences influenced his actions at various times. He participated with his first wife Phebe in her near-death experience. The experience drew them closer together and deepened her commitment to the Church. Later, in the wilderness of northern Arizona's San Francisco mountains, he experienced and recorded a vision of the condition of the Mormon people and their adversaries that so impressed his colleagues in the Twelve that they dedicated a copy of it to the Lord in a solemn assembly. Without a doubt, his

[8]For Randolph Alexander's defense of Woodruff from attacks by a Baptist minister, see *Things in Heaven and Earth,* 41.

[9]James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837-1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).

[10]Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth,* 155.

deep spirituality contributed to the revelations that led to the Manifesto, to accommodation with American society, and to the path which eventually took the Mormon community to the abandonment of plural marriage.

On reflection, it seems clear that although these three images—the farmer-miller, the missionary, and the visionary—contain considerable truth, an overemphasis on them masks an understanding of the complexity of Woodruff's life and character. Born to one of the oldest and most respected families in Farmington, Connecticut, Woodruff enjoyed the advantages of growing up in a state with arguably the best public educational system in early nineteenth-century America. In part because of these advantages, he was the best educated of all the nineteenth-century Church presidents except Lorenzo Snow, who had studied at Oberlin College. After completing elementary school, Woodruff attended high school under Noah Porter at the Farmington Academy, a classical New England academy. A renowned Yale graduate and Congregationalist minister, Porter was the father of the Yale University president of the same name.

In spite of the prominence of Woodruff's family in Farmington and Avon, both his father, Aphek, and his uncle, Ozem, gravitated into the dissenting tradition that rippled through New England during the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century. His father parted ways with Christianity and left the Congregational Church after its disestablishment by Connecticut in 1818. His uncle helped to organize the Baptist Church in Farmington. Later, Woodruff converted both of these men to Mormonism.

Unconverted to his father's irreligion but disaffected from Congregationalism himself, Woodruff became a seeker, joining with a number of friends and relatives to search for Christ's primitive church. Alone and with his associates, Woodruff studied the Bible, sought personal spiritual experiences, and aspired to profit from the spiritual experiences of others. Through this seeking, Woodruff achieved a deep sense of religious insight early in his life. While farming in Richland, New York, with his brother Azmon, they found the restoration of the primitive church in the teachings of two Mormon missionaries, Zera Pulsipher and Elijah Cheney.

After his baptism into the LDS Church, Woodruff accepted a call to join Zion's Camp. He sold his farm, outfitted himself, and

traveled with Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and others to Missouri in a vain attempt to redeem the Saints expelled by mobs from Jackson County. After Zion's Camp broke up, Woodruff left on his first mission to the South. Thereafter, he devoted virtually his entire remaining life to service in the Church—as a missionary, as a member of the Seventy, as an apostle, and as the Church's fourth president.

As I worked my way deeper into Woodruff's life, I saw that a key to understanding him is to recognize in him an extremely complex individual for whom the conventional separation of the spiritual and temporal, which I had accepted earlier and which I understood as so common to modern post-Enlightenment Western civilization, had little meaning and even less relevance. Searching for an apt description of Woodruff's perception of the relationship between the secular and sacred, I first used the phrase "undifferentiated temporo-spiritual." After I had written the manuscript for *Things in Heaven and Earth,* I invited three of Woodruff's great-grandsons, Richard Lambert, W. Bruce Wood-ruff, and Wilford E. Woodruff, to read it. As I met with the three to discuss the manuscript, Richard suggested that I might replace "undifferentiated temporo-spiritual" with *holistic.*

The suggestion appealed to me. I had, of course, understood the word *holistic* from my historical reading and particularly from my work in environmental history, where it is commonly used in connection with complex ecosystems. It was not, as one reviewer of my Woodruff biography charged, a word I had "discovered" and which I overused because I had become enamored of it.[11] I had also considered using the term "integrated," but it did not seem to convey as accurately the complex, deep, and total sense of an interrelationship between the temporal and spiritual that I found in Woodruff's thought. Rather, as I reflected on Richard's suggestion and as I discussed it with Jan Shipps and others, the word *holistic* seemed to me the best description I had found of Woodruff's complex mind set. Far from "discovering" the word, I used it advisedly.

[11]Davis Bitton, Review of *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet, Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 1158.

Following his early education at the Farmington Academy and his early religious experiences, Woodruff proved himself enormously inquisitive and flexible. He read widely, especially in history, travel literature, and *belles lettres.* He regularly recorded in his journal the names of authors and titles of books he had read. While serving his missions, he took opportunities as available to visit and comment on museums and local sites of scientific, cultural, and historic interest.

This scientific and cultural curiosity led him to promote and to join various organizations and interests in Utah territory. He helped organize and was chosen by his colleagues as the president of the Universal Scientific Society in Salt Lake City during the early 1850s. He also joined the Polysophical Society which Eliza R. Snow and Lorenzo Snow promoted to broaden the cultural life of Utah territory during the same time. He helped to promote experiments with plants and animals and to import new technology, such as the McCormick reaper and the disk harrow, into Utah Territory. He became something of an expert on irrigation. He served on the territorial board that examined prospective physicians. His educational background led him to conduct a survey of the progress of schooling in the territory. He served on the board of regents of the University of Deseret, predecessor of the University of Utah. He prided himself on being among the first patrons of the Salt Lake Theatre on the night of its dedication, 6 March 1862.

In some cases his efforts failed. Woodruff's interest and curiosity had led him to learn Taylor shorthand while on his first mission to the south. In Utah, he worked with George D. Watt to draw on the Latin alphabet and the shorthand system to design a phonetic alphabet for the English language. The resulting Deseret Alphabet proved to be an ambitious and expensive—but ultimately futile—experiment.

Woodruff's inquisitive nature and organizational ability probably showed themselves best in his work with the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society. At first as a founding member of its board and, from 1862 to 1877, as its president, he oversaw the operation of two experimental farms in the Salt Lake Valley and numerous experiments throughout the territory. Under his direction, the society imported Kentucky and Cotswold sheep, Durham cattle, and various strains of wheat and sorghum. His correspon-

dence with the keeper of the Kew Gardens in London led to the importation of strawberry plants from England. These are only a few examples of animals and plants he helped to introduce into Utah from throughout western Europe, various parts of the United States, and the Pacific. In 1870, he began an earnest study of bee keeping, and he became the founding president of the territorial apiary society.

His curiosity and wide-ranging interests included fishing and hunting. While in northern England in 1845-46, he watched local anglers as they engaged in fly fishing. Enchanted by this unfamiliar system, he purchased fly-fishing poles and tackle and introduced the practice into the Mormon community. Later in his life he published an article which described fly fishing and the general condition of wildlife in Utah for *Forest and Stream,* a national sports periodical.[12]

Like many of us, he experienced both success and failure in his personal life. His diary and correspondence reveal a close relationship with a number of his children. His marriages to Phebe Whittemore Carter and Emma Smith were loving, successful unions. Although he was not as close to Sarah Brown and Sarah Delight Stocking as to Phebe and Emma, he maintained a supportive and intimate relationship. However, his marriages to Mary Ann Jackson, Mary Carolyn Barton, Sarah Elinore Brown, and Eudora Lovina Young ended in divorce.

The reasons for the failures were complex. In the cases of Mary Carolyn and Sarah Elinore, there was certainly companionship with other men and disaffection from Woodruff, and there may have been infidelity on their part. With Mary Ann the marital problems seem to have resulted from incompatibility. The reasons for the divorce from Eudora are not entirely clear though they clearly included incompatibility.

I realize that those Latter-day Saints who hold an idyllic view of marriage in general and of nineteenth-century plural marriage in particular might have difficulty understanding the anguish that polygamy caused for the men and women who tried to live it. Any who have read Annie Clark Tanner's *A Mormon Mother;* the research

[12]James B. Allen and Herbert H. Frost, eds. "Wilford Woodruff, Sportsman," *BYU Studies* 15 (Autumn 1974): 113-17.

of Philip Kunz and Eugene Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell on divorce in plural marriages; or Jessie Embry's study of Mormon families will understand the comparative difficulty of polygamous life.[13] Marriage is the most intimate relationship in human society. Successful marriages combine passion, friendship, love, compromise, selflessness, and other qualities in varying proportions.

Moreover, observers can never understand the reasons for the success and failure of these marriages if they insist in interpreting them as "patriarchal" in the pejorative sense of that term. Successful plural wives achieved far too much independence to function successfully in a nineteenth-century patriarchal marriage in which they referred virtually all important decisions and directives to their husbands. Rather, plural wives had to develop a sense of cooperative independence not unlike that of women in successful modern dual-career marriages. Wives who sought companionship and comfort from other men, like Mary Carolyn and Sarah Elinore, could not hope to keep their marriages together. Those who failed to make each other happy like Mary Ann and Wilford failed as well. A lack of accommodative cooperation as in the marriage with Eudora also doomed the marriage to failure. Each in her own way, Phebe, Emma, Sarah Delight, and Sarah Brown worked out an accommodation which included cooperative independence, love, and friendship. Those marriages succeeded.

Beyond the ties to his families, Woodruff maintained a firm grasp of the rapidly changing conditions in Utah and its relationship with the remainder of the nation during the late 1880s and early 1890s. In a letter to a friend, William Atkin, Woodruff referred to the changes as a "Revolution." In many ways, the description seems quite accurate. Woodruff led, however, a revolution of a type that—I

[13]Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library and Tanner Trust Fund, 1976); Philip R. Kunz, "One Wife or Several? A Comparative Study of Late Nineteenth-Century Marriage in Utah," *The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions,* edited by Thomas G. Alexander, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 10 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 53-73; Eugene E. and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 4-20.

would argue—could have taken place only under the direction of a man of administrative ability who held the potentially tense combination of the temporal and spiritual in a dynamic but holistic harmony.

Other revolutionary leaders may have shared with Woodruff the ability to perceive holistically the temporal and spiritual. John Winthrop, in my opinion, was one. His 1630 speech aboard *Arabella,* "A Model of Christian Charity," seems to display a similar tough temporal and spiritual harmony.[14] In contrast, some religious revolutionaries allow spiritual values to submerge the temporal, leading to religiously motivated violence against those whom they did not understand or who seemed to deviate from officially sanctioned religious norms. The Salem witch trials of 1692 and the Iran of the Ayatollah are examples.[15] However, far too many revolutionaries have lacked a deeply spiritual side and thus allow the temporal to wreak violence on the spiritual. In some cases, leaders of overweaning temporal temperaments have led revolutions which have inflicted incalculable suffering on their people and others. Stalin and Hitler come to mind.

For the Mormon people, Woodruff provided a needed balance of both characteristics. With his holistic point of view, Woodruff was firmly convinced that to insure temporal success he must also maintain the spiritual power of the Church's religious mission. At base, he believed, the Church must continue to maintain the temples to perform endowments and sealings for the living and vicarious ordinances for the dead. He dreaded the potential damage to the central tenets of the Latter-day Saints' religion that the confiscation (technically the escheatment) of the Church's temples by the federal government under the Edmunds-Tucker Act would have caused. With that conviction and with deeply spiritual motivation and intent, he began to reground the faith of the Latter-day Saints on the rock of personal piety.

This shift from corporate to personal devotion constituted a

[14]On Winthrop's life, see Edmunds S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1958).

[15]See, for example, Marion L. Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials* (1949; reprinted New York: Time, Inc., 1963).

fundamental change in the Latter-day Saints' outlook. At least since the experience of the Saints in Nauvoo during the 1840s, the leadership had grounded Mormonism on the dual rocks of personal piety and the temporal kingdom. For full fellowship in the Church, leaders expected members not only to live faithful Christian lives, but to help build a temporal kingdom here on earth in preparation for Christ's second coming. In the Mountain West, the task of building the temporal kingdom included much more than simply founding and developing hundreds of towns, cities, farms, and businesses. It also consisted in managing politics through the People's Party, in founding numerous businesses like ZCMI, and in operating cultural institutions like the Salt Lake Theatre. In other words, it encompassed the full range of political, economic, social, and cultural life.

By developing the region through a combination of personal piety and kingdom building, the Latter-day Saints bridged the gap in traditional Christian theologies between pre- and post-millennialism. In the Mormon conception of millennialism, Christ would come to the earth in glory after tribulation to reign for a thousand years. This sounds like traditional premillennialism—that Christ's second coming would begin the Millennium. At the same time, like post-millennialists Latter-day Saints believed that they must build a temporal kingdom on earth as a refuge for the Saints from the evils of the world. On Christ's return, he would assume the reign over the kingdom they had established. Until he returned, however, the Church's prophet-leaders were to govern the kingdom.

As the revolution proceeded, Woodruff continued to hold to the millennialist's expectation of Christ's return. Unlike his earlier contemporaries, he came to believe that the second coming lay a considerable time in the future. Christ would not come to save them from their enemies. Under the leadership of the prophets and through divine guidance, the Church members would have to save themselves and the Church from destruction. To accomplish this goal, they had to accommodate to certain aspects of nineteenth-century American society. Woodruff and his associates concluded that they could accomplish this goal only by shifting the Mormon conception of the kingdom from a temporal organization with independent political, social, and economic power to a spiritual organization that emphasized personal piety. In this conception, building

the kingdom became synonymous with promoting the spiritual interests of the Church. Under this changed conception of the kingdom, the Church leadership and the laity began to divide into political parties; to work with Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in the development of various economic enterprises; and to open a larger number of social and cultural contacts with people outside the Church.

These accommodations did not diminish the extent of personal piety among members. Indeed, they may even have enhanced it. Increasingly, as the Woodruff Revolution unfolded, the Church leadership stopped measuring the commitment of members to God and Christ and to the Church by their willingness to accept missions to settle in out-of-the-way places or to leave their destitute families to proselyte in foreign countries. Instead, they came to expect members' testimonies to motivate them to work as teachers and administrators in Church organizations; to keep the Word of Wisdom, pay tithing, serve missions as young adults, live chaste lives, and work in the temples; and to further the interests of the Church by cooperating with Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in business, social, and political life.

In a sense, the Church did not fully achieve the ideals of this revolution until recent years when members and leaders learned to cooperate with others in charitable enterprises. The Relief Society had tried to inaugurate such projects by opening institutions like settlement houses in cities in the decades following Woodruff's death. These and similar enterprises tended to disappear, and Church members tended to confine themselves to helping other Church members as the Welfare Program flourished between the 1930s and 1970s. Only recently have members begun to work regularly with Catholic relief agencies, with women and children in crisis centers, and in soup kitchens. In these community charities, missionaries, leaders, and lay members have approached the objective of the Woodruff Revolution.

I should emphasize that although Woodruff and his associates began this revolution, they did not complete it. Often, practices long ingrained in a community do not end immediately, even when a prophet inaugurates them. The Mormons began to end the practice of entering new plural marriages after the Woo-

druff Manifesto, but it required nearly two decades before even the Church leadership became fully converted to this change. At least two apostles—John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley—and numerous lower-echelon leaders lost their positions because of this change. Others adapted rapidly enough to the changes to remain in full fellowship.

In 1891, the Church began urging the membership to divide between national political parties. In part because the Church leadership had difficulty inducing members to become Republicans, even that change caused considerable trauma. The most serious damage included the informal censure of a number of Democrats including B. H. Roberts and Charles W. Penrose, and, more seriously, the expulsion of Moses Thatcher from the Quorum of the Twelve. Moreover, long after Woodruff's death some Church leaders continued to use religious pressure to influence the outcome of elections and political decisions on clearly secular matters. In general, however, at least by the 1970s the Church leaders had generally decided to act like leaders of most large organizations. That is, they lobbied to influence decisions and legislation on matters they considered most important.

The accommodation to general American business practices came about more easily. The various cooperative mercantile institutions changed into regular commercial enterprises. Church leaders and members began more frequently to engage in various businesses in cooperation with Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish entrepreneurs. During the Reed Smoot hearings (1904-07), the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections uncovered several cases of local attempts to thwart independent business enterprise, but these were generally quite minor.

In standing back from these developments and trying to understand Wilford Woodruff and assess his contribution, we must consider the images of farmer, missionary, and spiritual leader as part of a larger mosaic. In trying to sum up this extraordinary man and prophet, I want to reiterate what I wrote in the last paragraphs of the biography:

> Relatively well-educated, well-read, and well-traveled, Woodruff combined a creative mind, practical inventiveness, and physical vigor with a sense of personal piety unsurpassed by any nineteenth-century Mormon leader. Woodruff blended formally educated but rough-hewn intellectual

> gifts only slightly less acute than Orson Pratt's with unswerving dedication rivaling Heber C. Kimball's. He coupled a firm dependence on inspiration in its various forms—dreams, visions, revelations—with a strong sense of personal destiny and Providential protection. On numerous occasions he recounted deliverance from accidents as evidence of the Lord's intentions in his life.
>
> This unique combination of temporal shrewdness and spiritual insight dwelled in a mind and body absolutely committed to Mormonism and unquestioningly loyal to his colleagues and to the Saints. As much at home with deep spiritual insights of the Kirtland and St. George temples and of mission dreams and the Wilderness Revelation as he was with the temporal sophistication needed to appreciate the British Museum and new plants and technology, he possessed the practical judgment to understand when to compromise and when to stand on principle. These qualities facilitated his leadership as he guided Mormonism competently through the transitional experience of the 1880s and 1890s.[16]

He was, as I have suggested elsewhere, a man for his season. Moreover, he was a man and a prophet whom I came to admire and to love. He helped me to understand how Latter-day Saints—and others for that matter—can live holistic temporal and spiritual lives. He helped me to understand how I could integrate my life as a scholar and as a believer.

He also helped me to look at current Church conditions with some perspective. In the past few years, the Mormon people have experienced an extraordinary degree of tension and sadness. The demand for conformity in Latter-day Saint society has wreaked havoc on families and friendships. Unlike the Woodruff Revolution, the recent changes have impacted the laity more than the Church leadership. Some have lost their membership, and some faculty members have left Brigham Young University—both voluntarily and under duress. An understanding of the tensions caused by Wilford Woodruff's attempt to preserve the Church while regrounding its foundations in personal piety has helped me to look with some perspective on the problems of my own time. I do not understand what has fueled the recent demand for conformity. I do understand that revolutions take place in the Church. Though saddened at the pain these changes have caused, like most others, I have remained active in the Church. It may well be that some

[16]Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth,* 332.

historian a hundred years from now may write of this time as another revolution. I do not know. So much perspective I do not have.

Reviews

Martha Sonntag Bradley. *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. 260 pp. including photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, and index; $30. ISBN 0-87480-415-9.

Reviewed by Becky Johns

Kidnapped from That Land would make a great screenplay for a Hollywood film or at least a TV movie-of-the-week. I don't mean this flippantly, for there is great storytelling here—grand drama, righteous passion, intrigue, and the central question of the right of government to enforce the laws of the land versus the constitutional right to individual freedom of religion. All that's needed for a major blockbuster is the titillation factor, and that's covered in the subject of polygamy itself.

Bradley's book gives us plenty of bad guys—government lawmakers, judges, attorneys, sheriffs, and especially Arizona Governor Howard Pyle. The guys in white hats are the hard-working, pioneer-like fundamentalists who settled in the Arizona strip, an incredibly hostile environment for human habitation.

It's no surprise that Bradley sides with the fundamentalists. They are certainly the classic underdogs in this drama. They tenaciously hold onto their religious beliefs in the face of a hostile physical environment, harassment from nearby cattle ranchers, monitoring and interference by numerous government agencies from two states, and, of course, the raids themselves which tore families apart for years.

To tell the story of Short Creek is to tell the story of plural marriage as it was practiced there and the Mormon Church's and state governments' reactions to it. Bradley terms it a "weaving together" of three braids: the doctrine of celestial marriage, lawmakers and law enforcers' actions, and the LDS Church's complicity. (p. x) Although the subject of plural marriage has been researched and commented upon elsewhere (see especially Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* [New York:

Oxford University Press, 1981], B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* [Chicago: University of Illinois, 1992], and Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986]) Bradley provides a good summary of the practice and controversy. More importantly, Bradley's study gives the reader a context, a time and place—Short Creek, Arizona, 1920-90—to see how polygamy was experienced by specific individuals. *Kidnapped from That Land* seeks to explain why the raids happened and how Short Creek came to be "the center of Mormon fundamentalism" (p. 40).

Bradley argues: "Before the Manifesto was issued, the Principle had been central to Mormon doctrine, identity, and solidarity" (p. 11). After the Manifesto, members were uncertain, confused by the sudden "about face" on this important doctrine and the ambiguous language of the Manifesto itself. Leaders who continued to perform plural marriages after the First Manifesto added to this confusion. Several charismatic and articulate men championed the practice of plural marriage against the public teachings of Church leadership and did not slacken their advocacy after the Second Manifesto of 1904 and the increasing sternness of later presidents of the Church, especially Heber J. Grant. Individual polygamists were excommunicated when they could be found, especially after 1910.

When the Mormon Church excommunicated Musser, Barlow, and Johnson, says Bradley,

> they set them adrift—separated from the official church and the fellowship of Saints. Those ostracized from their mother church grouped together to form a new order. . . . Not surprisingly, out of this period of anomie when these men and their families were unbound by traditional and religious laws and regulations they proposed a way of living that looked backwards and resembled more than anything else the nineteenth-century Mormon Church. (p. 49)

This act of forming a substitute religious family which allows for an alternative practice of Mormonism is what I also found in my study among some of the present-day fundamentalists in Manti, Utah. It seems ironic that, in both cases, the very act of excommunicating the polygamists may have been the catalyst which drove the fundamentalists to organize and to eventually claim the priesthood authority to perform plural marriages themselves.

Bradley is critical of the government raids on Short Creek and of the official LDS Church's cooperation with them. There seems no doubt from Bradley's reporting that the raids were ill-conceived, badly managed, and basically ineffectual in curbing the practice of polygamy. But Bradley seems to go further. She describes the raids in personal, human terms, depicting how the raids and their subsequent aftermath tragically affected individuals and families. This is an important story to tell and I am glad Bradley has chosen to tell her story from the perspective of the fundamentalists.

However, one might ask why Bradley does not provide a more balanced picture of the Short Creek raids, as her book may have benefitted from other perspectives. In her preface Bradley explains her approach to the raids:

> In 1991 the use of public records was regulated by the Government Access and Management Act (63-2-101) which seals public documents such as juvenile court records for a period of seventy-five years after their creation. Therefore, many records of the highway patrol, juvenile court, social services and other relevant public records which might have been useful for this study have not been consulted despite my repeated efforts to gain access to them. The directors of the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for their own reasons have also restricted the use of materials about the fundamentalists, Short Creek and the raids. (p. xi)

Clearly, official written records may not have been available. However, many individuals who were involved or who had knowledge of these raids may still have been alive at the time of the writing of this book. Bradley tells us she interviewed some eighty members of the fundamentalist community (p. xi). Why not also interview some of the legislative members, the governors or their staffs, law enforcement officials, or Mormon Church officials who had direct knowledge of the raids? In fact, Bradley tells us that she "consulted" with "numerous outsiders," including "former governors of both Arizona and Utah, local ecclesiastical leaders and other contemporaries of the events" (p. xi). Unfortunately, these interviews or consultations do not seem to be featured in Bradley's book.

There may be very good reasons for these omissions. Bradley's friendly relationship with the fundamentalists may have been predicated on the understanding that this would be a book about their side of the story. Certainly there is much precedent in telling the story of the persecuted from their point of view; but if an opportunity for the presentation of multiple viewpoints had existed, I believe it would have enhanced this study.

Aside from the issue of balance, I find one other troubling issue in Bradley's book worth mentioning. While the fundamentalists take a moral stand, seeing themselves as persecuted and as martyrs for God, Bradley documents the existence of Short Creek marriages arranged between older men and teenage girls. Even the most religiously tolerant might have a problem with: "The average age at first marriage for fundamentalist women in Short Creek was sixteen years old, although fourteen and fifteen were not uncommon ages at which girls married" (p. 99), and "At the time of the [1953] raid, at least a dozen girls between fourteen and seventeen years of age were either pregnant or were the mothers of up to three children" (p. 100).

While it may seem acceptable for mature women to enter a polygamous lifestyle, the power of their indignant, we've-got-the-higher-moral-

ground rhetoric fizzles out for me and, I suspect, for many other readers, when we learn that a fourteen-year-old girl is married to a sixty-year-old man and immediately begins bearing children. This issue seems more problematic than the treatment Bradley gives it in her book.

Bradley herself makes a strong case for the troubling nature of the practice of arranged polygamous marriages in Short Creek when she presents testimony from monogamous residents who claim that there was little choice for teenage boys or girls. Bradley reports: "The community considered marriage decisions to be religious and private, made with the advice of the presiding patriarchs. Sect leaders John Barlow and Leroy Johnson exerted tremendous influence over their followers' choices of future mates. When approached, they advised men "when and who to marry, as well as how to live in plural households" (p. 100). Surprisingly, Bradley concludes that "such a system is not necessarily coercive or exploitive" (p. 101). She argues that patriarch Leroy Johnson knew all five hundred members of the community and "probably had reasonably accurate ideas about how two people might be suited to each other" (p. 101). However, the notion that Johnson might have some idea of a couple's compatibility hardly mitigates the fact that he ordered, arranged, or strongly prescribed that fourteen-year-olds should marry much older men and bear their children. What of love? What of choice?

Bradley attempts to deal with these issues when she argues that the Short Creek fundamentalists highly esteemed love and individual agency—but not for women. "Women in Short Creek had few choices to make as adults. Here the culture of fundamentalism coincided with the limited opportunities offered in an isolated, rural, frontier community" (p. 98). At this point, Bradley makes an effort to explain how the fundamentalists defended plural and arranged marriages. Plural marriage was defended by Amos Musser and other proponents because (1) it provided relief from the sexual over-indulgence of husbands (p. 104), (2) it served as a kind of birth control (p. 105), (3) it provided women with the "ultimate blessing" of bearing children and provided the Short Creek women with what power and influence they had through their role as mothers, and (4) it saved thousands of women from "spinsterhood and childlessness" (p. 107). Bradley thus defends polygamy—or at least accepts the fundamentalists' defense uncritically—by arguing that "clear gender roles [as in polygamy] can have a useful social function of providing social and cultural stability" (p. 104).

Why does this bother me so? Is my reaction all about the sexual taboo of the older man and the barely pubescent girl-child? The fundamental trouble to me seems to be one of individual agency. Did these young girls have the opportunity to choose or not to choose a polygamist lifestyle and a polygamist partner? Can individuals who, under the law, are technically children make such choices? If not, were they in effect forced into a kind of sexual slavery exactly as the critics of Short Creek claimed? Upon reading Bradley's book I wanted her to resolve this issue for me.

It was a dilemma for me. I wanted to be on the side of the Short Creekers. I wanted to see them as the guys in the white hats. But I found few assurances and no resolution.

I found more persuasive Bradley's contextual analysis of the "us vs. them" attitude at the time of the raids. She argues that the Korean War, the McCarthy era, and the nativist or reformer movement combined to make the issue of polygamy one of America vs. the new enemy—and the new enemy was anything that seemed insufficiently American: "The Communist, the anti-Christ, and the polygamist threatened or seemed to deny that nebulous something that made America great" (p. 180). This insight provided some convincing reasons why the raids took place.

Kidnapped from That Land is a careful, thorough treatise about the Short Creek raids and particularly about the fundamentalists who were subjected to them. The timeliness of the topic is particularly compelling. Colorado City-Hilldale (formerly Short Creek) is growing and prosperous as are other polygamous communities. Governments are presently closing their eyes to the practice of polygamy while the LDS Church continues to aggressively seek out and excommunicate polygamist members and the national legal climate seems attuned to changes that would accommodate unconventional marital arrangements.

Overall, I found the book an excellent example of Mormon history. It is a significant contribution to our understanding of a difficult and painful past, a careful documenting of the problematic relationship of orthodox Mormons with their brothers and sisters living fundamentalist principles, and as Bradley reminds us, a sobering reminder that the story is not finished.

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Frederick S. Buchanan. *Culture Clash and Accommodation: Public Schooling in Salt Lake City, 1890-1994.* Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996. x, 300 pp.; photographs, charts, index; $24.95. ISBN 1-56085-082-5.

Reviewed by E. Vance Randall

Frederick S. Buchanan climaxes a distinguished career at the University of Utah as an educational historian with another important work. The thesis of *Culture Clash and Accommodation* is that "public schools

mirror the societies that maintain them, however much we would wish otherwise" (p. 287). Public schools do not perform any transformational role in society nor do they in the words of the social reconstructivist George Counts, "dare build a new social order." Rather, public schools are but a reflection of the larger, existing social order, a cultural microcosm where many of the social tensions find expression and are played out in an educational setting. As a supporting case in point, the author gives a history of the major developments and issues which shaped and transformed the Salt Lake City school district.

The historical data Buchanan uses include annual reports of the Salt Lake City Board of Education, the board's minutes, personal journals, newspaper accounts, Masonic lodge records, personal interviews, oral histories, correspondence, autobiographies, LDS general conference reports, master's theses, doctoral dissertations, articles in professional journals, and books. Buchanan also refers to the work of prominent educational historians and Utah historians to develop and enhance both the national and local context.

In addition to a brief preface and an epilogue, the book is comprised of ten chapters. The first chapter provides an overview of education in Utah before the establishment of a public school system in 1890. The remaining chapters deal specifically with the Salt Lake City school district and are chronologically organized by the administration of each superintendent, starting with Jesse F. Millspaugh in 1890 and ending with the administration of John W. Bennion in 1994. Buchanan integrates the larger social, religious, and political context of each time period with the major educational issues each superintendent faced. The epilogue is a useful historical summary of the key social and educational movements in the school district and reiterates the thesis that public schools in general, and schools in Salt Lake District in particular, are but social reflections of the larger culture.

The first chapter chronicles the impact on Utah education of fundamental changes in Mormon society: the public abandonment of plural marriage, adoption of capitalism, and the affiliation of Mormons with national political parties. The secularization of Utah society included the secularization of education. In fact, the establishment of the public school system had long been a key element in non-Mormon efforts to transform Mormons into true Americans. Yet Mormon parents, naturally, did not want their children's education to alienate them from their faith. Whatever other issues each superintendent confronted, he always faced the daunting task of safely sailing educational policy and practice between the Scylla of the Mormon culture and the Charybdis of the non-Mormon culture. Thus, much of the conflict over the control of the Salt Lake City school district, observes Buchanan, "can be viewed as a struggle between those who wanted the schools to express local culture and those who wanted them to reflect national 'republican values.' It pitted a centralist perspective against a localist perspective, cooperation

against competition, and religious community against an increasingly secular society" (p. 30). Much of the book deals with how each superintendent worked at achieving some sort of compromise between the two major factions to keep the district's schools functioning.

The fragile compromise worked out early on was that the public schools would not be "directly antagonistic to Mormon culture" and that the "separation of church and state should be strictly observed" (p. 68). The election of Freemasons to the school board, who insisted on the separation of church and state and the necessity of public schools, ensured that the compromise itself would not be compromised. In addition, a "gentleman's agreement" had been struck between the Mormon and Mason board members about two key offices: the superintendency and the clerk-treasurer who handled the funds of the district (p. 169). The Mormons would have the deciding voice in who became the superintendent and the Freemasons would control the clerk-treasurer's appointment. "Indeed, from the 1890's until the 1950's the Masons had a firm grip on the district's finances through the office of the Clerk-Treasurer and from 1920 until 1973 all five superintendents . . . were members of the LDS church," notes Buchanan (p. 287).

The post-World War II era witnessed population growth, changing demographics, cultural diversity, and the challenges of an urban school district. Although religion was still a prominent issue, social and economic issues forged to the front. The decline in district enrollment and school revenues in the late 1960s and early 1970s required the closing of some schools. In the last half of the 1980s, the simmering social and economic issues in the district came to a head with the closing of South High School and the boundary realignments of West, East, and Highland high schools for reasons of economic efficiency and student diversity. Buchanan summarizes these cultural flashpoints: "Nothing in the school's history came close to being as potentially divisive" (p. 288). The "new realities" since the 1950s made religious affiliation less important; "people of all persuasions [were] now challenged to come to grips with the issues of poverty, urbanization, and ethnic diversity" (p. 289). However, the 1990s controversy over singing religious songs at West High School is a reminder that religion still remains a very powerful force in shaping educational policy and practice in the district.

Culture Clash and Accommodation is an excellent historical analysis of the cultural and educational dynamics that shaped the development of an urban school district in Utah. The book is well written and enjoyable to read despite some minor editing problems. For example, *principals* is misspelled as *principles* (p. 39). Also, despite usually substantial documentation, in several instances the citation was ambiguous or not given: e.g., "I believe we are running education mad" (p. 73) has no clear citation; citations for the court cases on p. 182 are likewise missing. There is no bibliography. The footnoting is excellent, but unless the

reader remembers the complete reference from its first use or is willing to hunt backwards, it is difficult to track citations.

I also have two minor criticisms of the content and the approach. First, although I agree with Buchanan that "public schools mirror the societies that maintain them" (p. 287), it may be too deterministic and passive. Schools not only mirror but also affect society. Schools both act and are acted upon by society. Schools liberate as well as captivate. They maintain the status quo but are also change agents. In this light, it would have been interesting to know how public schools had also changed Utah society. Some examples are secularization, diversity issues (e.g., race, ethnicity and gender), technology (e.g., internet, computer use), and youth culture. It is not clear whether Buchanan looked for evidence of such change and failed to find any, looked and found inconclusive evidence, or did not address the question directly in his research.

Second, Buchanan's approach privileges the superintendent/board of education level. There is no question that analyzing the dynamics at this organizational level is critical in our understanding of the evolution of the district. However, the linkage between policies and politics at the state or district level and the individual classroom is quite loose. When a teacher closes the classroom door, who knows for sure what policies and practices are actually implemented? The study could have been improved even more by a closer look at the life of the teacher and classroom dynamics. I realize, however, that space and availability of documents may have made this approach unfeasible.

Despite these minor concerns, Buchanan should be commended for producing a very fine scholarly work on the history of Utah education and the Salt Lake City School District. The content is solid, the prose is wonderful, and the analysis is keen. His book has set the standard for similar studies of other districts. I highly recommend his book for anyone interested in the historical and social nexus between education, culture and politics.

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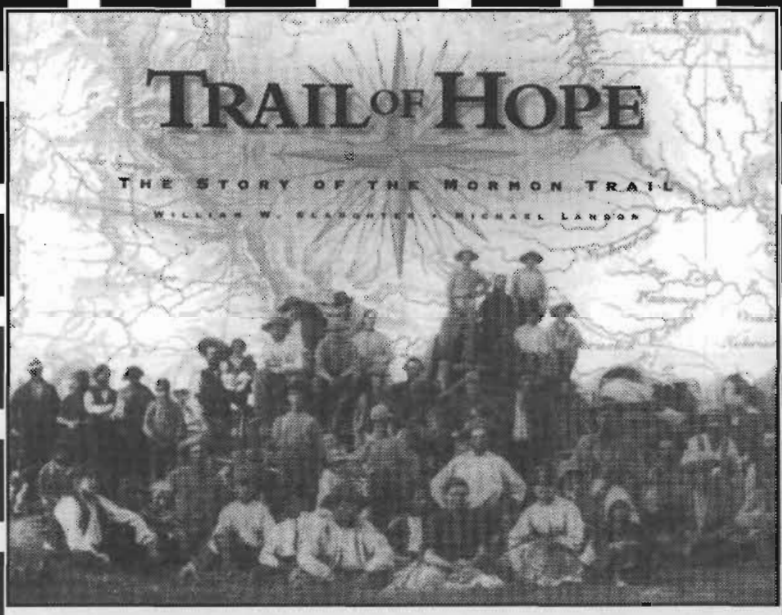

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ISSN 0094-7342